A Companion to Early Modern Catholic Global Missions

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A Companion to Early Modern Catholic Global Missions

Edited by

Ronnie Po-chia Hsia



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Cover illustration: Ibadat Khana (The Hall of Worship), by Narsingh (active ca. 1585–1605). Akbarnama manuscript fl. 263v, ca. 1603–05. This painting depicts the Mughal Emperor Akbar presiding over a religious colloquy, flanked by the Jesuits Rodolfo Acquaviva and Possibly Antoni de Monserrat, who are dressed in black. The other interlocutors are Muslim scholars.

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Introduction

Catholic Global Missions and the Expansion of Europe

In 1562, the discovery of alleged human sacrifices practiced by nominally converted Christians unleashed a violent outburst from Friar Diego de Landa (1524–79). The Franciscan friar organized an inquisition, burned scores of Mayan codices and hundreds of images; over 4,500 Mayans were interrogated, many under torture, ending in 169 deaths and suicides. Repatriated to Spain to stand trial for conducting an illegal Inquisition, de Landa was acquitted; in 1571 he was appointed Bishop of Yucatán. De Landa was not a particularly brutal conquistador. He had dedicated himself to learning Mayan in order to evangelize the people of the Yucatán.

After his arrival there in 1549, De Landa trekked all over the scattered villages preaching the Gospels to the Mayans, who had only recently submitted to Spanish conquest. Having zealously learned the language and culture of the Mayans, the Franciscan eventually composed a book, *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán*, which, although it has only survived in part, was the first ethnography of the Mayan people. And yet, this friar-ethnographer, to whom we owe the only document of Mayan culture in the initial years of the encounter, wrought great destruction to the culture of the peoples who were his flock. Scandalized and angered by the many religious images of the Mayans, and appalled by their alleged human sacrifice to the gods, De Landa developed a deep hostility to indigenous culture that fueled his paranoia about a network of underground apostates, which explains the brutality of the 1562 repression.[1]

One generation later, across the Pacific and on another continent, an Italian Jesuit had become a master of the Chinese language and Confucian texts in the Empire of the Great Ming. Departing for India in 1579, the year of de Landa's death, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) worked for three years in Portuguese Goa and Cochin before he was summoned to Macau, the Portuguese enclave on the south China coast. Immediately, the young Jesuit was impressed by elite Chinese culture. The mandarins in China, Ricci wrote, reminded him of the ecclesiastic dignitaries of the Catholic Church. In both cases, it was intelligence, scholarship, and virtue that were rewarded, not noble birth. As for the achievements of Chinese civilization, Ricci rated them even higher than Ancient Greece and Rome. In so many things the Chinese were superior to Europeans,

1 See Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquest: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), esp. p. 76.

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Ricci conceded, except in the knowledge of the true faith. Ricci had spent more than a decade of studies and frustration mastering Chinese culture. Unlike de Landa, his knowledge of "native" culture led to admiration, not abhorrence. Toward the end of his life Ricci composed a memoir of which a Latin translation was published in 1615. While not the first work composed by a westerner on China (that honor belongs to his countryman Marco Polo), *The Christian Expedition in China* represented the first scholarly account of the politics, economy, language, and religions of Chinese civilization. In sharp contrast to Diego de Landa's encounter with the Mayans, Ricci found much in Chinese civilization he admired, foremost, the moral philosophy of Confucianism, which he compared to that of Plato and the Stoics. On that note of cultural harmony, Ricci developed a program of evangelization in which selected leitmotifs of Confucianism were declared harmonious with Christianity. A celebrity during his lifetime, Ricci became the model for future generations of missionaries to China. Despite critics, his method would endure until the beginning of the 18th century, when the papal condemnation of Chinese rituals honoring ancestors, Confucius, and certain classical terms introduced a jarring note into Christian evangelization in Late Imperial China.[2]

Two men, two methods: what do the different careers of de Landa and Ricci illustrate? This is the central question that animates this collection of essays. The global history of Catholic mission revolves around one question: was Catholic evangelization a part of European colonial and imperial expansion or was it carried through on a different institutional impetus with different goals from conquest, subjugation, and incorporation? The tragedy in the Yucatán seems to support the first answer. Nor did it stand alone. Diego de Landa might have been particularly harsh in his treatment of the Mayans, but even 'gentler' Franciscans, such as Bernardino de Sahagún, the compiler of Nahuatl and ethnographer of the post-conquest Aztecs, were active in the 'spiritual conquest of Mexico', to use Robert Ricard's disputed and outdated formulation.[3] Does the difference between de Landa and Ricci come down to empire? De Landa operated as an agent of empire, as Christianization constituted a central aim of Spanish imperialism. However, he was not representative of all missionaries. Ricci, a subject of the pope and not the Spanish king, had a different agenda. This is obvious when we compare him to fellow Portuguese Jesuits, who

2 See my *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552–1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

3 Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523–1572* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966). The original French was published in 1933.

were wont to equate Christian and Portuguese interests. A different vision of Christianization was discernible, when Ricci, a young priest consecrated in Goa, criticized his Portuguese superiors for excluding Indian students from the highest classes of theology at the Jesuit College. And China, of course, was not the Yucatán. It was an empire. Despite occasional belligerent utterances from the Portuguese and the fantastic scheme of conquering China by an armada concocted by the Spanish Jesuit Alonso Sanchez in the 1580s, the courses of European encounters with China and Mesoamerica were not parallel, as a recent study has suggested.

The different careers of de Landa and Ricci suggest two patterns of Catholic missions: the American and the Asian models. In the first model, Christianization came in the wake of conquest and colonialization. After the defeat of the Aztec, Mayans, and Incas, their temples were destroyed, their gods obliterated, and their rituals prohibited. While the Mesoamericans acquiesced and adapted, hiding their traditional beliefs and images, or incorporating the conquest religion into their old ones, they were not masters of their own fates. This colonial model was replicated in the second half of the 16th century in the Philippines, which were colonialized from Spanish expeditions from Mexico. One hundred years later, the Christianization of Quebec by the French followed a similar pattern, albeit that colonialization played a greater role than military conquest. At the core of the American model was Spanish imperialism: non-Europeans were reduced to subjects of the Spanish crown, who had both the duty and right to christianize them. In the Spanish colonies, christianization was a political act. In the borderlands of Chile, Northern Mexico, and the central Philippines, conversion signified pacification, as colonial authorities relied on missionaries to make obedient and pliant subjects to defend the frontiers of empire against the Mapuches, Cherokees, and Moros, who regarded friars and Jesuits as agents of Spanish imperialism.

The Asian model was shaped by the Portuguese patronage of Christianization, which was granted by Pope Alexander VI in the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. Unlike Spain, Portugal did not entertain great imperial ambitions. A much smaller country than her neighbor, the Portuguese were foremost mariners and merchants. Royal patronage supported the first Portuguese maritime explorations into the Atlantic; and the French King Francis I scornfully dismissed his Portuguese counterpart, King Manuel as 'the king of grocers.' The Portuguese lacked thus the resources and ambition to conquer extensive territories in their African and Asian expeditions. What they had acquired after a century of explorations between the mid-15th and mid-16th centuries was a string of fortified islands and ports stretching from the Azores in the North Atlantic to Cape Verde, São Tomé, Angola, Mozambique Island, Hormuz, Goa,

Cochin, Sri Lanka, Malacca, Macau, and Nagasaki. From these strongpoints, which allowed the Portuguese to fully exercise their naval superiority and to defend against land attacks, they tried to dominate commerce. In the Indian Ocean, they defeated various Islamic rivals—the Ottomans, the Acehese, and the Gujirati—until they themselves succumbed to their Protestant rivals, the Dutch in the early 17th century. In the waters of the western Pacific, Portuguese ships sailed along the many more Chinese, Japanese, and Okinawan vessels that plied these routes. Unlike India, where the Portuguese had established a small colonial presence, their settlements in Macau and Nagasaki existed due to the toleration of Chinese and Japanese authorities. But even in the Portuguese *Éstado da India*, colonial control was restricted to a narrow string of coastal fortresses at the foot of the Deccan Plateau.[4] In India, Vietnam, Japan, and China, the Mughal, Trinh, Nguyen, Tokugawa, Ming and Qing rulers exerted a decisive influence over the Christian missions. Outside of the Philippines and Portuguese Goa, Jesuit and friars depended on Asian rulers for protection; and the whim and policies of these rulers could change the fortunes of Christianity in an instance, as missionaries and converts would tragically find in Japan and Vietnam. The two models of evangelization, therefore, determined the strategies and methods of evangelization: was Christianity translated or were converts re-shaped? How did missionaries reconcile Christianity with indigenous rituals and beliefs? Was it a process of repression, hybridization, adaptation, or inculturation? And finally, how did Africans, Native Americans, and Asian perceive Christianity? Was it the religion of the Spaniards and Portuguese, and of Europeans in general, or did it represent a system of rituals and beliefs that could be potentially harmonized with indigenous systems?

Empire and Missions, together, constitute one of the unifying themes in this collection of essays. The first seven contributions, on the Americas and Africa, analyze Catholic missions in territories occupied or dominated by Portugal, Spain, and France. Mexico is the subject of Mark Christensen's chapter, followed by Aliocha Maldavsky on the Indes and Guillermo Wilde on Paraguay; Portuguese Brazil is described by Anne McGinness and New France by Dominique Deslandres; and Portuguese Africa is the focus of the chapter by Alan Strathern. The next group of chapters is devoted to the Islamic world,

4 There is a large literature on Portuguese explorations. The following titles may give a first orientation: Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500–1700* (London/New York: Longman, 1993), *ibid.*, *The career and legend of Vasco Da Gama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Liam Matthew Brockey, ed., *Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008); and A. H. de Oliveira Marques, ed., *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente. 1. Volume* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 1998).

a region that has been the least studied in the history of Christian missions. Adina Ruiu's chapter narrates the Jesuit mission to the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century and Christian Windler analyzes the relationship between the Vatican, missionaries, and converts in the early modern Safavid Empire in Persia. A third group of four chapters shifts the focus to Asia, analyzing Christianization in areas where missionaries labored for the most part in non-European regimes. Ines Županov gives us an overview of the mission in India, while Tara Alberts does the same for Vietnam, Antoni Üçerler for Japan, and R. Po-chia Hsia for China. A final part shifts the focus to Europe, the continent from where thousands of missionaries were dispatched. Having examined the different patterns of cultural encounter on the ground between Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, the religions of Mesoamerica and the animist cults of Africa, our gaze returns to Catholic Europe, not as the core in this history where the opposition between center and periphery is a false dichotomy. There is no need to "de-center" or "provincialize" Europe, for the history of early modern global Catholic missions is a story that has multiple levels and different perspectives. By shifting back to Europe, part four will examine two questions common to Catholic missions all over the world: who were the missionaries and how were the missions paid for? This is an area that has generated surprisingly little scholarship so far. Our volume makes a modest contribution by focusing on the analysis of the financial history of the Jesuit China mission and the discussion of the recruitment of German Jesuits for the mission fields of the Americas.

This is a volume about Catholic global missions in the early modern centuries. But as the chapters demonstrate, one must think of globalization in the plural. The dialectic between European Empire and Catholic mission, global trade and cultural transmission, and the encounters between Christianity and other world religions tell different histories in globalization.[5] Even if we narrow our focus only on Catholic missionaries, their different global trajectories reflect divergent institutional imperatives. The Society of Jesus and the mendicant orders are a case in point. Many of the essays focus on Jesuit missions for a good reason. As the first transnational missionary order, the Society of Jesus

5 See my "Christianity in Europe and oversea," in *The Cambridge World History. Volume VI. The Construction of A Global World, 1400–1800 CE. Part 2. Patterns of Change*, Jerry H. Bentley, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 334–57; see also, Ines G. Županov and R. Po-chia Hsia, "Reception of Hinduism and Buddhism," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity. Volume 6. Reform and Expansion 1500–1660*, R. Po-chia Hsia, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 577–97.

recruited members from all countries of Europe as well as from the Iberian colonies in America and from the missions in Japan and China. Directed by the General and his Assistants in Rome and divided into provinces, Jesuit missions maintained a global cohesion thanks to rigorous administrative procedures. In the mission field, individual Jesuits composed reports to their superiors, who, in turn, filed the required annual reports on the state of their province and the triennial personnel assessment. This voluminous material is sent and deposited in Rome, Lisbon, and Madrid. As a teaching order, the Society generated a prodigious cultural production. Religious, linguistic, historical, literary, and scientific works were penned by Jesuit missionaries in dozens of languages and thousands of titles for the cause of conversion. Furthermore, personal letters—petitions addressed to the General for foreign missions and private letters to family, friends, and fellow Jesuits—complete a vast depository of historical sources unrivaled by any other ecclesiastical archive.

Nothing comparable pertains to the mendicant orders. Unlike the Society, the Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, and Mercedarian orders lacked a central hierarchy. Missions were organized along national and provincial lines. Therefore, Spanish friars furnished the manpower for the Spanish colonies, often with one metropolitan province being responsible for one mission territory. The same national lineage was also true for the Portuguese mendicant orders, which provided far fewer missionaries than the Portuguese Jesuits. National interests created exclusive missionary territories. French Capuchins were first sent to the Ottoman Empire to further French diplomatic interests as well as Christian evangelization; their sponsor was no less than Father Joseph, the *eminence grise* and confessor of the French Minister Cardinal Richelieu.[6] In Madagascar it was the Lazarists, founded by the French saint Vincent de Paul, who represented French Catholicism;[7] in Thailand, Vietnam, and China it was another new French order, the Missions Étrangères de Paris that contested the Jesuits for the further glory of God and King.[8] National interests closed the Iberian colonies to non-Spanish and Portuguese missionaries. However, this policy was changed at the end of the 17th century, when the Spanish and

6 See Benoist Pierre, *Le Père Joseph. L'Éminence grise de Richelieu* (Paris: Édition Perrin, 2007).

7 See Sean Alexander Smith, "'Virtue in the extreme is worth nothing': Mortifications and Mission in Madagascar, 1648–1674," in Alison Forrestal and Sean Alexander Smith, eds., *The Frontiers of Mission. Perspectives on Early Modern Missionary Catholicism* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 68–89.

8 Tara Alberts, *Conflict and Conversion. Catholicism n Southeast Asia, 1500–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 36–46.

Portuguese crowns permitted Italian, German, Austrian, and Belgian Jesuits to fill the inadequate ranks of their frontier missions in their Iberian domains.[9] In contrast, the French held on stubbornly to national exclusivity: Jesuits dispatched by Louis XIV to India, Thailand, Vietnam, and China refused to abide under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese patronage and pressured the General (a Spaniard) in Rome to grant autonomous and separate mission status.[10] The most globalized mission in the early modern world—China—was served by missionaries from the largest number of Catholic countries but also the stage of the most bitter and contentious national and doctrinal rivalries. The Chinese Rites Controversy, which dealt a heavy blow to a thriving Christianity, was partially the result of the bitter rivalry between religious orders and national interests.

Other than a transnational religious order (the Jesuits) and nationally affiliated missions (the Spanish mendicants, the French Lazarists and the Paris Foreign Missions), there was a third player in the globalizations of the Catholic Church: the Roman Curia. This was represented by the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (Propaganda Fide) established in 1622.[11] Directed by a Cardinal Prefect, this was Rome's answer to the patronage granted away to Spain and Portugal in 1494. Intended to bring the non-western territories of global Catholicism under the normal ecclesiastical structure of the Roman Church, the Propaganda Fide established new dioceses, appointed new bishops, and attempted to win back the ecclesiastical rights stubbornly and bitterly defended by the Portuguese and Spanish crowns. Apostolic vicars were sent to the Middle East, India and China; first attempts were made to train indigenous clergy, in Italy and overseas; but by-and-large the Propaganda Fide had to rely on the regular clergy for their personnel, a secular clergy in the non-European Catholic world being hardly present before the 18th century except in Spanish America. This new player in the history of Catholic globalizations often worked against Iberian interests and Jesuit transnationalism. It would

9 See Christoph Nebgen, *Missionarsberufungen nach Übersee in drei Deutschen Provinzen der Gesellschaft Jesu im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2007), p. 6off.

10 See my "Tomás Pereira, French Jesuits, and the Kangxi Emperor." *Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1645–1708) Life, Work and World.* Ed. Luís Filipe Barreto. Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2010, pp. 347–68.

11 For a short introduction see Peter Guilday, "The Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide (1622–1922), *Catholic Historical Review* 6:4 (1921), pp. 478–94. The Pontifical Urbaniana University is preparing a series of publications to commemorate the Quincentennial founding of the congregation.

eventually play the dominant role in the revival of global missions in the late 19th and early 20th century.

If there were different globalizations for the missionaries, the experiences for the peoples of the non-European world were even more complex and divergent. First, there were the conquered: the peoples in Mesoamerica, the Yucatan, the Andes, Brazil, the Philippines, and the Portuguese enclaves dotting the African and Asian littorals. Indeed, for the Aztecs, the Mayans, and the Incas it was a spiritual conquest: their gods vanquished by the god of the Spaniards; their shamans and priests killed or defrocked; their temples destroyed, their rituals forbidden, their sacred texts burned, and their identities transformed. Then there were the colonized: the Algonquin, the Iroquois, and other native peoples in Quebec unconquered but deeply affected—by epidemics, trade, violence, and conversion—by the arrival of the French; or the Guarani, the Malpuche, the Apache, and other native Americans engaged in warfare and pacification with the Iberian colonial states and their Catholic missionaries, their ancestral religion and culture balanced precariously between the old and the new, independence and submission. Thirdly, there were the peoples of established empires and states, often powerful—the Africans in Congo, the Turks, Greeks, Slavs, and Arabs in the Ottoman Empire, Persians in the Safavid, Muslims and Hindus under Mughal rule, the Sri Lankans, Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese, Thai, Malays, and the Koreans under their own rulers and regimes. When we examine the history of global Catholic missions, we are reminded that this history was also a story of power, hierarchy, and resistance. Seen from the courts in Istanbul, Isfahan, Agra, Tokyo, Beijing or Hue, these global missions represented not so much the expanding waves of a Catholic center but rather movements at the periphery emanating from unknown or belligerent sources, lapping at the cores of well-established civilizations.

Looking at the great diversity of religious practices encountered by Catholic missionaries brings us to yet another theme in the multiple globalizations of the early modern world: the religious encounter. For this is certainly the heart of our story: global Christianization. Here the experiences are again highly divergent. Where Christianity ran up against the other global monotheistic religion, Islam, it made almost no progress. Catholic missionaries to the Ottoman and Safavid Empires in the 17th and 18th centuries were nibbling at crumbs, so to speak, scoring at the most moderate successes among the non-Catholic Christian subjects of the Sultan and the Shah.[12] The penalties for apostasy was

12 In general, there were more conversions from Christianity and Judaism to Islam in the early modern centuries rather than the other way round. See Tijana Krstic, *Contested*

if anything harsher in Islam than in Christianity. And it was among the Armenians and Syrian Christians that Catholic missionaries made converts. In India Catholic missionaries made more converts among Hindus than Muslims. In China, the impossibility of Muslim conversion was acknowledged as much by the Spanish Jesuit Alonso Sanchez, who noted with alarm the large numbers of Muslims in Guangzhou when he visited in the 1580s, and urged Philip II to conquer China before it converted to Islam, an undertaking which would otherwise become a Quixotic quest. There were few religious dialogues between the two monotheistic faiths. They had known one another only too well for centuries: jihads and crusades, forced conversion and exile had not softened the hard boundaries between Islam and Christianity.

Where Christianity encountered non-monotheistic religions, it met with greater reception and success. The first Jesuits in China during the 1580s were welcomed with curiosity and friendship by the Buddhist clergy, especially since the Westerners announced they were from India, the homeland of Buddhism. A similar misperception characterized the earliest years of the Jesuit Japan mission. Soon, the Jesuits declared their doctrinal differences, hardened their religious identities; in both Japan and China they provoked controversies and conflicts with Buddhists, exhorting their converts to destroy the Buddhist statues formerly honored by their neophytes, confinement to the fire rather than retirement to the dust, provoking resentment with sanctimonious intolerance. In these Buddhist lands, controversies between Jesuits and Buddhists faded away in China after the 1640s, but in Tokugawa Japan, they contributed to the vehemence of the anti-Christian persecutions that destroyed the mission in the early 17th century.[13]

Aside from Buddhism, we have a famous episode of religious encounter between Roman Catholicism and Hinduism during the late 16th century in the activities of the Italian Jesuit Roberto Nobili. Dressed as a guru, Nobili learned Sanskrit and incorporated some Hindu rituals to attract high-caste converts to his cause, a religious experiment severely criticized by a fellow Portuguese

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Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change and Communal Politics in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011). For Catholic missions to the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century see Adina Ruiu, "Conflicting Visions of the Jesuit Missions to the Ottoman Empire, 1609–1628," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1 (2014), pp. 260–80 and her chapter in this volume. For Safavid Persia, see the chapter by Christian Windler in this volume and the cited literature.

13 See Iso Kern, *Buddhistische Kritik am Christentum in China des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Bern, Frankfurt, Vienna: P. Lang, 1992) and George Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge MA: Harvard East Asian Monographs, 1988).

Jesuit but defended in Rome.[14] A century later, French Jesuits in the Carnate mission imitated Nobili's brahmanical adaptations with some success. But the true breakthrough in Christianization came only in the 18th century when German Protestant missionaries dedicated their work not to the upper-caste Brahmins, but to the lower-caste peasants and untouchables of Tamil society.

On the encounter between Christianity and religions organized regionally or locally we have much less documentation. These indigenous cults can be loosely defined as popular, naturalistic, and animistic. In Mesoamerica, Christian missionaries condemned a religious system with a well-developed mythology, theology, and rituals, describing as demonic the ritual of human sacrifice to the gods and suppressing any manifest signs of the conquered religion. Temples were destroyed, codices burned, and indigenous clergy suppressed. While the triumph of Christianity obscured the contours of Mesoamerican religions, in China missionaries encountered crops of popular religious practices, hidden underneath the stratum of rituals and religious organizations sanctioned by the imperial state. Some were millenarian sects that grew out of Buddhism; others amalgamated Daoist, Buddhist, and even Christian religious doctrines, rituals, and symbols. Periodically accused by their opponents as akin to this popular heterodoxy, the Christian mission was eager to keep its distance.[15] In India and Islamic lands, there were few attempts in the early modern period to engage in religious dialogue. In other missionary territories we lack sufficient information to classify accurately the beliefs of the indigenous peoples. In many of them, in the Congo, Brazil, and the Philippines, religious beliefs and practices were anchored on animism and mediated by shamans who communicated between the human and the spiritual worlds.

In most of these indigenous societies, such as the Guarani, the shamans were male. But among the Tagalog speakers in the Philippines, the overwhelming majority of shamans were older women.[16] These religious specialists

14 For Nobili's missionary experimentation, for a first orientation, see Ines Županov, "Compromise: India," in R. Po-chia Hsia, ed., *A Companion to the Reformation World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 353–75, esp. pp. 363–67; for a theoretical analysis, see her *Disputed Mission. Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999); for the biography of Nobili, see Matteo Sanfilippo and Carlo Prezzolini, eds., *Roberto De Nobili (1577–1656) missionario gesuita poliziano. Atti del convergno Montepulciano 20 ottobre 2007* (Perugia: Guerra Edizioni, 2008).

15 See B. J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

16 See Carolyn Brewer. *Shamanism, Catholicism and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines, 1521–1685*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

communicated with the spirit world, dispensed medical and ritual aids for sexuality and fertility, and enjoyed a high status in their respective village communities. With the coming of the Spaniards, and with the consolidation of Spanish rule and Catholicism, the authority of female religious shamans was displaced by Spanish priests, Filipino headmen, church sacristans, and catechists. This shift of power in gender and generational relations reflected one of the many ways in which global Catholic missions affected the lives of women.

The mission itself was almost overwhelmingly male. Female missionaries numbered in the dozens, as opposed to thousands of male missionaries; the most notable among these few were the Ursuline nuns in Quebec, of whom Marie de l'Incarnation, the mystic, was the most famous. Everywhere in the Catholic world, the decree of the Council of Trent (Sessio 25, Caput V) forbade any professed nun to go out of her convent, except when approved by the bishop. Gender inequality in the missionary personnel mirrored gender inequality in the convert population. We know much more about the experiences of male converts than female converts, although missionary records testify to the fervor of female neophytes in Japan, China, and Vietnam. Japanese female converts were as ready to suffer martyrdom as the men during the ferocious persecutions unleashed by the Tokugawa regime; Chinese and Vietnamese women were praised in missionary reports for their piety, devotion, and commitment to virginity, even resisting paternal authority to marry. But we know only the names and circumstances of very few female converts: social status, not gender, mattered. Such was the Queen Consort, Minh Duc Vuong Thai Phi, baptized Mary Magdalene by the Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes (1591–1660). Consort of the late Lord Nguyên, founder of the dynastic regime in Hue, she was the mother of the future lord Nguyên Phúc Nguyên (reign 1614–34), who was eager to attract Portuguese trade and ready to tolerate their religion.[17] Or take the example of Candida Hu (1607–80), granddaughter of Xu Guangqi, the most prominent mandarin convert of the Late Ming dynasty. Praised for her piety and largess to the Jesuits, and for her exemplary management of a large Catholic household, Candida Xu became the subject of a short biography by the Belgian Jesuit Philippe Couplet and a famous personality among readers in Europe.[18]

17 Alberts, *Conflict and Conversion*, p. 160f.

18 Philippe Couplet, *Histoire d'une dame chrétienne de la Chine* (Paris: Michallet, 1688), translated into Dutch as *Historie van eene groote, christene mevrouwe van China met naeme mevrouw Candida Hiu* (Antwerp: Franciscus Muller, 1694); see also Gail King, "Couplet's Biography of Madame Candida Xu (1607–1680)", *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 18 (1996), pp. 41–56.

How did evangelization affect women? Or to stand the question on its head: did gender influence conversion? We do not have the whole picture, but pieces of the puzzle. In Latin America, a Christian figure, the Virgin Mary, assimilated Native American goddesses of fertility.[19] Seeing their deities melted down in the heat of Christian suppression, Native Americans poured their fluid essences into the Marian mold offered by their conquerors, creating a hybrid form of female holiness. In Japan, China, and Vietnam, where the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (觀音 Chinese, Guanyin; Japanese, Kannon) was the central figure in popular Buddhism, especially among female devotees, the Virgin Mary appeared as a novel yet familiar figure, popular in her representation as the mother of god, a figure of intercession in societies that prized male progenies.[20] In these societies, where literacy among women lagged behind men, the production of Christian literature in texts written in common styles encouraged female interest. In China, this took the form of texts written in more colloquial rather than classical Chinese, a trend that became stronger after the mid-17th century; in Japan, Christian catechisms were composed for the common folk only in the *hiragana* alphabet without the more difficult Chinese characters, *kanji*; in Vietnam, the Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes devised a system to write Vietnamese using the Latin alphabet, the new script being used then for the production of a sizeable Christian literature, and becoming eventually adopted as the national language, *Quóc Ngu*.

Through the Virgin Mary and accessible texts, Christianity became a technique for female empowerment. Its teachings on monogamy and virginity also attracted many women. The best documentation comes from Fujian in

19 The most famous case is the Virgin of Guadalupe. See D. A. Brading, *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition across Five Centuries* (New York: Cambridge University Press 2001); Louise Burkhart. *Before Guadalupe: The Virgin Mary in Early Colonial Nahuatl Literature*. (Albany: Institute for Mesoamerican Studies and the University of Texas Press, 2001). Stafford Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexcan National Symbol, 1531–1797* (Tucson, AZ, University of Arizona Press, 1995. On the incorporation of the Virgin Mary into Mayan devotion, see also Amara Solari, *Idolizing Mary: Maya-Catholic Icons in Yucatán, Mexico, 1550–1700* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2017).

20 On the similitudes between the Virgin Mary and Chinese female deities, see Song Gang, "Between Bodhisattva and Christian Deity: Guanyin and the Virgin Mary in Late Ming China." In *The Constant and Changing Faces of the Goddess: Goddess Traditions of Asia*, edited by Deepak Shimkhada and Phyllis K. Herman, 101–120. (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2008); and R. Po-chia Hsia, "The Virgin Mary and Mazu as Maritime Patroness in Late Imperial China," *Urbaniana University Journal*. Nova Series LXVIII, 2/2015, pp. 149–72.

southeastern coastal China, where the Dominicans organized pious female converts into Third-Order associations. Accustomed to providing spiritual guidance to holy women in the Catholic world, Dominican missionaries recorded the edifying behavior of their charge, the *beatas* or holy women, some widows, others girls, some resisting paternal pressure of marriage, all vowing piety and chastity.[21] The friars even reported on the mystical rapture of one beata, claiming she could levitate in her moment of divine union, to which the Jesuit father, who related this event, dismissed it as incredulous, as such behavior "was unbecoming of a woman of low social status."[22]

The reader will only be too aware of the lacunae in this collection. Many regions of evangelization are not covered; many structures fail to be included, such as an analysis of the rites controversies that affected the missions in China, India, and Vietnam. There are many more questions that I wish we could have addressed: the comparison between Protestant and Catholic missions is at the top of this desired list. All we hope to achieve with this collection is a small beginning, 'to break the ground for future cultivation', as Ricci modestly described his life's work.

21 See Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars. Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), p. 301ff.

22 The skeptical remark was made by the Portuguese Jesuit António de Gouvea in, Horácio P. Araújo, ed., *Cartas Ánuas da China* (*1636, 1643 a 1649*) (Lisbon: Instituto Português Oriente/Biblioteca Nacional, 1998), p. 220. See also my "Zong jiao xinyang yu meng wenhua: Ming Qing zhiji tianzhujiao yu fojiao de bijiao tansuo 宗教信仰与梦文化：明清之际天主教与佛教的比较探索 (Religious Beliefs and Dream Cultures: A Comparative Analysis of Catholicism and Buddhism in the Late Ming and Early Qing), in *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, Vol. 76, Part 2 (2005), pp. 209–48.

PART 1

The Americas

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CHAPTER 1

Missionizing Mexico: Ecclesiastics, Natives, and the Spread of Christianity

Mark Christensen

> Among the continuous labors that occupy my mind in the urgency of the business that is presented to me each day, the one that pursues and distresses me the most is how—by means of you, most beloved brothers, with the blessing of the Most High, and in the imitation of our apostolic man and seraphic father St. Francis—I can, with all the tenderness of my soul and continuous sobbing of my heart, free from the head of the infernal dragon the souls redeemed with the most precious blood of our lord Jesus Christ, and that, fooled by the cunning of Satan, live in the shadow of death, imprisoned in the vanity of the idols, and make them serve under the banner of the Cross and that they lower and put on the neck only the sweet yoke of Christ.
>
> —fray Francisco de los Ángeles Quiñones, 1523[1]

Although dedicated to an eremitic spirituality, the Franciscan Francisco de los Ángeles Quiñones longed to labor in the vineyard of New Spain and was among the first to request permission. Despite his desires, however, those of his order prevented his departure, and in 1523 he was elected minister general. Stuck in Spain, Quiñones selected fray Martín de Valencia as his replacement and ordered him to organize a team of twelve friars. Like Christ and his twelve apostles who set out to preach the gospel, Valencia and his twelve would do likewise to the natives of the New World. Prior to their departure, Quiñones met with Valencia and his twelve in the Spanish monastery of Santa María de los Ángeles over the period of a month resulting in two important documents: the *Instrucción* and the *Obediencia* that formally established the missionary

1 Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana* (Barcelona: Linkgua ediciones, 2007), 210. The metaphor of the yoke appears throughout the New Testaments. Particularly relevant is when Peter encourages the Jews not to discriminate against those Gentiles willing to accept the gospel and to not "put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear" (Acts 15:10 (AV)).

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work of the Franciscans in New Spain.[2] The quote above derives from the *Obediencia* and illustrates both Quiñones's longing to serve in the New World and the initial goals of the Franciscans to redeem the "lost" souls of the natives. The organized evangelization of the New World had begun.

This chapter examines the missionary experience and the evangelization of the region today known as Mexico giving particular attention to the areas of central Mexico and Yucatan. From the central heartlands to the peripheral Yucatan to the northern frontiers, Mexico represented a major missionary enterprise in the New World. As such, the region has garnered much scholarly attention. To begin, this chapter explores the evolution in the scholarly interpretation of the "Spiritual Conquest" from Robert Ricard's initial thesis in 1933 to more revisionist works including those from "the New Philology" and "New Conquest History" schools of thought.[3] Employing these works, the chapter then examines the role of both missionary and native in evangelization and the outcomes of the continual negotiation between conflict and cooperation that existed within and between both groups. Finally, the chapter examines the evangelization of the borderlands with missions illustrating the similarities and differences between the missionary effort in the centers and peripheries. In the end, this chapter aspires to present the missionary endeavor in Mexico for what it was: a bold, innovative, and ambitious yet diverse, gradual, and conditional work with various results.

Conquering the Conquest

In his *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, fray Gerónimo de Mendieta refers to the friars sent to evangelize the New World as "soldiers of Christ come to conquer."[4] Indeed the rhetoric ecclesiastics used when referencing evangelization often

2 For more on Quiñones, his role, and the *Instrucción* and *Obediencia* see Steven E. Turley, *Franciscan Spirituality and Mission in New Spain, 1524–1599*: Conflict Beneath the Sycamore Tree (Luke 19:1-10) (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 24–42. For a translation of the *Obediencia* see Kenneth Mills, William B. Taylor, and Sandra Lauderdale Graham, eds., *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002).

3 For a thorough investigation of the historiography surrounding the Spiritual Conquest, see Mark Christensen, "Recent Approaches in Understanding Evangelization in New Spain," *History Compass* 14:2 (2016): 39–48. Small portions from this my 2016 article likewise appear here.

4 Mendieta, *Historia*, 209.

employed militaristic terms.[5] Thus, it is not surprising that Robert Ricard titled his influential 1933 study on the evangelization of Mexico *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico*. In his work, Ricard uses the friars' reports to reproduce an impressive history of the views, organization, methods, and goals of the mendicant orders. For Ricard, the Church represented the medium through which Spanish society successfully became transplanted to New Spain. Yet Ricard's conclusions revolved around what James Lockhart describes as the "displacement theory," in which the incoming beliefs and culture of the Spaniards swept aside indigenous ideas and practices.[6]

Ricard's paradigm of mendicant and Catholic triumph over indigenous religions went largely unchallenged for nearly fifty years. That changed once scholars turned to Mesoamerica's rich religious culture, especially those precontact elements that survived the Conquest. As historians, ethnographers, and anthropologists journeyed throughout Mesoamerica, read the conquistadors' accounts of native religions, and explored native texts and codices, they composed works that newly exposed the practices of pre-Columbian religions.[7] This soon helped scholars to recognize such beliefs among colonial and even modern practices. For example, studies such as William Madsen's *The Virgin's Children* (1960), argued for the "survival" of native beliefs and traditions within Christianity. This blend of religious beliefs became referred to as "syncretism."[8]

As scholars began to reexamine the Spiritual Conquest, two primary methods emerged. The first employs indigenous language sources; the second, although influenced by works working with native language documents, relies

5 For specific examples in native language religious texts see Mark Z. Christensen, *Nahua and Maya Catholicisms: Texts and Religion in Colonial Central Mexico and Yucatan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 135–42; John F. Schwaller, *The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 16.

6 James Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 2.

7 See, for example, Ralph L. Roys, *The Indian Background of Colonial Yucatan* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973); Alfonso Caso, *The Aztecs; People of the Sun* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958); Miguel León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture: A Study of the Ancient Nahuatl Mind*, trans. Jack Emory Davis (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963); Alfredo López Austin, *The Human Body and Ideology: Concepts of the Ancient Nahuas*, 2 vols, trans. Thelma Ortíz de Montellano and Bernard Ortíz de Montellano (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988).

8 Although the static nature of the term makes it highly problematic.

upon non-indigenous sources. The first method emerged alongside—indeed, as part of—the New Philology. Publications in the 1970s and '80s showed that using Nahuatl sources revealed colonial religion in a whole new light. Most notably, Louise Burkhart's *The Slippery Earth* (1989) was the first monograph in English to truly confront Ricard's thesis. Moving away from the traditional "syncretic" model towards a non-static, creative synthesis, Burkhart's use of Nahuatl philology illustrated how friars became conquered through their linguistic, rhetorical, and practical adaptation to Nahua culture. Following Burkhart, a landslide of scholarship from North American philologists swept, and continues to sweep, through the historiography providing new insights into how natives made sense of Christianity on their own terms.[9]

The revisionist history of the Spiritual Conquest has also benefited from a growth in new studies of colonial indigenous religion that are not necessarily based on native-language sources. Many of these respond to Serge Gruzinski's influential *Man-Gods in the Mexican Highlands* (1989 in English). In his study, five individuals successfully adapt to Christianity while maintaining precontact beliefs to form a syncretic religion that allowed them to take on attributes of precontact man-gods. Although Gruzinski acknowledges the man-god's ability to create new cultural identities and beliefs, he views such as the desperate attempts of a vanquished individual to withstand the cultural "change that affects and crushes him."[10] Like Ricard, Gruzinski saw resistance to Catholicism and the colonial machine as futile. Many scholars disagreed with this teleology—with the assertion that natives eventually become totally converted to Catholicism. Indeed, much of the non-philologists' revision of the Spiritual Conquest demonstrates the Church's ongoing attempts to accommodate indigenous traditions. Important work on regions of greater Mexico was produced by Amos Megged, John Chuchiak, and John Early (all since 1996).[11]

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9 A complete list of works is too lengthy to include here, but some examples would be Barry D. Sell and Louise M. Burkhart, eds., *Nahuatl Theater*, 4 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004–2009); Louise M. Burkhart, *Before Guadalupe: The Virgin Mary in Early Colonial Nahuatl Literature* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001); Lisa Sousa, Stafford Poole, C.M., and James Lockhart, ed., trans., *The Story of Guadalupe: Luis Laso de la Vega's 'Huei tlamahuiçoltica' of 1649* (Stanford: Stanford University Press/UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1998). For a more detailed, although not exhaustive, list concerning Nahuatl religious texts see Christensen, *Catholicisms*, 5 n. 8.

10 Serge Gruzinski, *Man-Gods in the Mexican Highlands: Indian Power and Colonial Society, 1520–1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 181.

11 Amos Megged, *Exporting the Catholic Reformation: Local Religion in Early-Colonial Mexico* (Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1996); John Franklin Chuchiak, IV, "The Indian Inquisition and the Extirpation of Idolatry: The Process of Punishment in the Provisorato de

Not only have recent studies exposed a diversity in religious practice, but also among the ecclesiastics themselves. To be fair, Ricard does admit to the occasional "unworthy acts, failings, and errors" of the friars.[12] Yet in general his work presents a unified, white-washed view of the religious orders and fails to appreciate much of the deviance, discord, and internal conflicts such orders faced on a regular basis. As scholars such as Martin Nesvig and Steven Turley have shown, understanding such conflicts and struggles is important in attaining a better understanding of the missionary endeavor, those who participated in it, and its various outcomes.[13]

A slew of recent edited volumes combine the work of both philologists and non-philologists; John F. Schwaller's *The Church in Colonial Latin America* (2000), Nesvig's *Local Religion in Colonial Mexico* (2006), and Susan Schroeder and Stafford Poole's *Religion in New Spain* (2007), all illustrate that unlike the monolithic image of Ricard, the Church shaped and molded to local culture, demands, and characters. Moreover, a recent movement in the historiography known as the New Conquest History makes room for revisionist studies on religion. Essentially, the New Conquest History employs a variety of sources—including those in native languages—to challenge the traditional, Eurocentric view which recounts a victorious narrative of Spanish efforts in conquest wars.[14] In reevaluating such a narrative, the Spiritual Conquest likewise receives attention to shed light on numerous facets including the role of

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Indios of the Diocese of Yucatan, 1563–1812," Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 2000); John Early, *The Maya and Catholicism: an Encounter of Worldviews* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2006).

12 Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain: 1523–1572*, trans. Lesley Byrd Simpson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), 132.

13 Martin Nesvig, *Forgotten Franciscans: Writings from an Inquisitional Theorist, a Heretic, and an Inquisitional Deputy* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 2011); Turley, *Franciscan Spirituality*.

14 Most works forming part of the New Conquest History emerged since the 1990s. A few examples include Stephanie Wood, *Transcending Conquest: Nahua Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003); Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Laura Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk, eds. *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007); Susan Schroeder, ed., *The Conquest All Over Again: Nahuas and Zapotecs Thinking, Writing, and Painting Spanish Colonialism* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2011). For an overview of the New Conquest History see Matthew Restall, "The New Conquest History," *History Compass* 10 no. 2 (2012): 151–160.

native assistants, the incompleteness of conversion, and the ability for natives to credit themselves with the spread of Christianity.[15]

Although much work remains to be done, especially at the level of microregional variants on Catholicism, this revisionist historiography debunks Ricard's thesis of rapid and largely complete native conversion and replaces it with one that advocates a gradual conversion more fluid than syncretic in nature, and contingent to the desires and worldviews of natives. Indeed, the establishment of Catholicism in the New World hinged upon the agency of the natives and their desire, not their ability, to convert and stay converted.[16]

Europeans in Evangelization

To better understand Christianity and its presence in Mexico a brief look at its Iberian origins and those who carried the Faith across the Atlantic is necessary. Generally speaking, the New-World missionaries and their religion are products of eight centuries of warfare and struggle as Christians from northern Spain fought to reconquer the peninsula from its Muslim invaders. As the sporadic fighting wore on, both Muslim and Christian became more extreme in their respective faiths, and the *Reconquista* or Reconquest became crusade-like in nature. The Church awarded spiritual benefits to those engaged in the conflict and Pope Alexander VI granted King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile the title of the "Catholic kings" for their successful efforts in reconquering Granada in 1492—the last Muslim foothold in Iberia.[17]

As a result of the Reconquest, the religious environment of Spain became less tolerant and more focused on reform and a renewal of faith. During the

15 See for example, Robert Haskett, "Conquering the Spiritual Conquest in Cuernavaca," in *The Conquest All Over Again*, 226–60; Mark Z. Christensen, *Translated Christianities: Nahuatl and Maya Religious Texts* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014.

16 Recent approaches to the evangelization of New Spain continue to explore the complexities of conversion and have branched out beyond natives to include women and blacks. See, for example, Asunción Lavrin, *Brides of Christ: Conventual Life in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); Joan Cameron Bristol, "Black Catholicism in Mexico," *Journal of Africana Religions* 2:2 (2014): 255–63; Robert C. Schwaller, "The Importance of Mestizos and Mulatos as Bilingual Intermediaries in Sixteenth-century New Spain," *Ethnohistory* 59, no. 4 (2012): 713–38.

17 For an excellent summary of the Reconquest and its spiritual implications see John F. Schwaller, *The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 13–22.

Reconquest, Muslims and Jews faced either expulsion or conversion, and concern over the true intentions and devotion of such converts led to the establishment of the Inquisition in 1478. Yet this concern for orthodoxy and reform extended beyond Jewish and Muslim converts to include members of the secular and religious clergy. The spiritual laxity among the clergy—particularly those secular—was a familiar topic throughout Europe, and Spain was no exception. The regular clergy, in particular, had thrived and prospered throughout the Reconquest for their importance in evangelizing newly conquered areas.

By way of reform, the Catholic monarchs established competitive exams for aspiring priests and many of the regular clergy encouraged spiritual renewal through a variety of forms. For example, the Franciscan order in Spain divided themselves into two branches: the Conventuals who accepted that their work for the Church ultimately determined the shape of their practice of poverty and humility, and the Observants who thought the virtues of poverty, humility, and simplicity should shape their work for the Church. In the end, Ferdinand and Isabella—who favored the Franciscan order—promoted/forced a union of the two branches under the Observants (which was only moderately successful) and drew the initial missionaries, such as Valencia and "the Twelve" from this dominant branch.[18]

Thus, the first missionaries (outside those few ecclesiastics that accompanied the initial conquistadors) held a distinct vision for the evangelization of Mexico which drew upon a religious history shaped in Spain that emphasized austerity, simplicity, and a preach-by-your-works ideology. Moreover, many of these early Franciscans embraced millenarian ideas that viewed the conversion of the Mexican natives as key in ushering in the Second Coming of Christ.[19] To be sure, diversity and discord continued to brew over time within the order—and all religious orders in general—regarding the virtues or vices of humanist thought, conversion, millenarianism, and myriad other issues.[20] That said, the actions, policies, and beliefs of the regular clergy that produced the majority of the missionaries sent to Mexico were heavily influenced by prior events and ideological movements that took place on the other side of the Atlantic.

The issues of baptism and the use of native language religious texts in Mexico serve as apt examples of both the European antecedents to missionary action and the diversity both within and without the various religious orders

18 Turley, *Franciscan Spirituality*, 14–20.

19 An essential discussion of which remains John L. Phelan's *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).

20 For an excellent illustration of this see Nesvig's *Forgotten Franciscans*.

tasked with evangelization. First on the scene in 1524, the Franciscans wasted little time in baptizing the natives who, conveniently, had the preexisting tradition of incorporating the deities of their conquerors into their worldview and religious practices. As mentioned, a millenarian view of the world heavily influenced Valencia and his companions. Coupled with a belief that encouraged actions over words, the initial Franciscans boasted incredulous numbers of baptized converts. Indeed, fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinía, one of the original "twelve," reported nine million natives baptized after only fifteen years.[21] Urgency and necessity encouraged many early Franciscans to adopt an abbreviated form of baptism and various degrees of pre-baptismal instruction that later ecclesiastics would question.

The Dominicans and Augustinians (arriving in 1526 and 1533 respectively) were particularly concerned about the issue. In general, the Dominicans were much more conservative in their evangelization which focused on conversion through preaching and instruction. The Augustinians likewise emphasized scholarship and instruction and joined the Dominicans in their concern over the lack of education Mexican natives received prior to baptism. Motolinía and others viewed such criticism as an attack on the authority of the Franciscans and the uniformity of the sacrament. Later, the Franciscan Juan de Torquemada would defend the validity of such mass baptisms with the example of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros who performed similar mass baptisms among the Muslims of Granada during the Reconquest.[22] The issue came before numerous ecclesiastical councils and synods with the First Mexican Provincial Council of 1555—overseen by the Dominican Alonso de Montúfar—insisting that all adults receive sufficient instruction prior to baptism.[23]

This example of Franciscan zeal tempered by more conservative minds is again seen with regards to native language religious texts. Outnumbered and

21 Fray Toribio de Motolinía, *History of the Indians of New Spain*, trans., ed. Elizabeth Andros Foster (Berkeley, CA: The Cortés Society, 1950), 133.

22 Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, *Concilios provinciales primero, y segundo, celebrados en la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de México, presidiendo el Illmo. Y Rmo. Señor D. Fr. Alonso de Muntúfar, en los años de 1555, y 1565* (Mexico City: Imprenta del Superior Gobierno, Hogal, 1769), 2.

23 Ibid., 42–43. Various works discuss the debate and conflict among ecclesiastics with regards to baptism including Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 83–95; Robert H. Jackson, *Conflict and Conversion in Sixteenth Century Central Mexico: The Augustinian War on and Beyond the Chichimeca Frontier* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 71–75; Osvaldo F. Pardo, *The Origins of Mexican Catholicism: Nahua Rituals and Christian Sacraments in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 20–48; Christensen, *Catholicisms*, 126–32.

faced with the daunting task of evangelizing the natives, the Franciscans soon turned to the use of Nahuatl, the lingua franca of central Mexico.[24] After learning the language themselves, and with the considerable assistance of native aides, the friars produced catechisms, confessional manuals, plays, sermons, and other religious texts all in Nahuatl. The majority of the Franciscans strongly encouraged the use of natives in text production and viewed such as a step toward their ultimate goal: a native clergy. Such ideals and goals, however, fell victim to a variety of factors including evidence of the natives continuing in precontact worship, Tridentine reforms, Counter Reformation attitudes, and the general conservatism of rival orders, particularly the Dominicans.

The First Mexican Provincial Council of 1555, then, declared natives unfit for the clergy.[25] Moreover, the council restricted natives from translating or possessing native-language sermons due to the translation errors and misunderstandings the natives produce. Only texts signed by the granting ecclesiastic could be in the possession of natives. Moreover, the council pronounced that all religious texts appearing in native languages required the approval of ecclesiastical authorities who would examine the text for both doctrinal and translation errors.[26]

Further reflecting this growing concern is a 1570s Inquisition questionnaire addressing whether or not to prohibit the translation of scripture into native languages and the natives' possession of translated texts. A few ecclesiastics selected for their proficiency in Nahuatl answered the questionnaire. As might be expected, the Francsicans Bernardino de Sahagún and Alonso de Molina strongly supported both the translation of scripture into Nahuatl and the natives' possession of translated texts. The Dominicans, however, opposed

24 For an overview of the ongoing debate concerning the use of Nahuatl in religious texts see Mark Z. Christensen, "The Use of Nahuatl in Evangelization and the Ministry of Sebastian," *Ethnohistory* 59, no. 4 (Fall 2012): 691–711; Kelly S. McDonough, *The Learned Ones: Nahua Intellectuals in Postconquest Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 39–44.

25 This prohibition from the clergy, however, would see respite in the Vatican's additions to the proceedings of the Third Provincial Council of 1585 that added the phrase "without great caution" to the exclusion. Thus, after the proceedings were approved in 1591, officially no legal exclusion existed for the natives to enter the clergy, although race/class divisions would prevent one from fully forming in the colonial period. For more on the matter see Stafford Poole, "Church Law on the Ordination of the Indians and *Castas* in New Spain," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 61 no. 4 (1981): 637–50.

26 Lorenzana, *Concilios provinciales*, 143–44; Christensen, *Translated Christianities*, 7–12; Barry Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books: Language and Expression in Colonial Nahuatl Publications" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1993), 121 n. 20.

such notions. Indeed, with regards to the natives possessing religious texts, the Dominican fray Domingo de la Anunciación responded saying "handwritten [books] should be totally prohibited from them (the natives) because we have experience that all of the native-authored handwritten books have a thousand errors both in the writing and in the material they relate."[27] Although natives continued to contribute to the production of religious texts, their contributions became less visible and their close collaborations with ecclesiastics less frequent. Overall, ecclesiastics were divided in their expectations, vision, and actions, particularly concerning the evangelization of Mexico, and such division affected the missionary process as seen with the issues of baptism and the production of native-language religious texts.

To be sure, the secular clergy likewise contributed to the missionary effort of Mexico. Indeed, secular priests accompanied the various expeditions of initial conquistadors including Hernán Cortés.[28] Following the Conquest, such priests typically either received royal appointments or worked for *encomenderos* tasked with the spiritual well-being of their *encomienda* natives. Yet in general, the secular clergy largely focused on administering to the Spanish populations of the cities leaving the natives to the regular clergy.[29]

This, however, did not prevent a palpable tension between the regular and secular clergy. Once again, this tension did not begin in Mexico, but back in Spain where the secular clergy were traditionally viewed as ignorant, immoral, and corrupt. Such preexisting attitudes led Cortés to berate the secular clergy and instead request "many religious persons … who would be most zealous in the conversion of these people."[30] The rise of the regular clergy in the

27 AGN, Inq., vol. 43, exp.4, f. 137. Studies examining the increased scrutiny of native-language religious texts by ecclesiastical authorities and the Inquisition, and the divided opinions among the religious orders regarding such scrutiny include Jaime González Rodríguez, "La difusión manuscrita de ideas en Nueva España (siglo XVI)," *Revista complutense de historia de América* 18 (1992): 89–116; Martin Nesvig's *Ideology and Inquisition: The World of the Censors in Early Mexico* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 155–60; Christensen, *Catholicisms*, 84–88; and David Tavárez's *The Invisible War: Indigenous Devotions, Discipline, and Dissent in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011), 67–68. Patricia Manning's *Voicing Dissent in Seventeenth-Century Spain: Inquisition, Social Criticism and Theology in the case of El Criticón* (Leiden: Brill, 2009) likewise addresses the Inquisition and its censorship of printed texts.

28 Schwaller, *The Catholic Church*, 55–59.

29 For an excellent work on the secular clergy see John F. Schwaller, *The Church and Clergy in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987).

30 Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, trans. and ed. Anthony Pagden, with an introduction by J. H. Elliott (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 332–33.

thirteenth century is, in large part, a result of this negative view toward the clergy and a desire for reform. Many in Spain, such as Cortés, came to view the regular clergy as a "solution" to the moral laxity and ignorance of Christians in general. It seems that both Cortés and the Franciscans saw this as an opportunity to create among the natives an untainted and "pure" form of Christianity absent from that in Europe.

As vanguards of Catholicism in New Spain, the regular clergy, specifically the Franciscans, received extended privileges from the Crown and Pope. Traditionally, the ecclesiastical hierarchy consisted of secular clerics with the regular clergy serving as adjuncts of sorts subject to the authority of the local bishop, but excluding their internal life which was governed by their own elected superiors. Yet the unusual circumstances the New World afforded regular clerics a larger role than they had in Europe. With the 1522 *Omnimoda*, Pope Hadrian VI granted the friars the authority to function beyond episcopal control. Put simply, the friars could grant dispensations, hear confessions, preach, and administer all sacraments—with the exception of ordaining priests—without permission from the bishop. Not surprisingly, the secular clergy viewed this as an infringement upon their authority. Moreover, because the friars answered to superiors in Rome, they enjoyed more independence from the Crown than the secular clergy. In time, the Crown too became wary of a growing oversees Church governed in large part by the friars. As disease continued to ravage the native population and administrative concerns grew, the Crown began to phase out the missionary program in central Mexico in favor of the secular clergy with the *Ordenanza del Patronazgo* (1574) which called for secularization and the subjugation of the friars under diocesan control, although this process would take the breadth of the colonial period.[31]

Natives in Evangelization

The role of the natives as "spiritual conquistadors" is often neglected in the traditional narrative of the evangelization of New Spain. Fortunately, ongoing discoveries of documents, manuscripts, and texts continue to reveal their role in

31 See also Schwaller, *The Catholic Church*, 59–65. For more details on secularization in the late colonial period see William B. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 83–86, 506–10. Importantly, the Franciscans had mixed reactions to the Ordenanza, with some welcoming the decree as it allowed them to return to an eremitic lifestyle. See Turley, *Franciscan Spirituality*, Ch. 6.

evangelization. From the beginning, the plan of the friars involved the grooming of native leaders for their influence in assisting in the conversion process. The concept was logical: convert the political leaders and their subjects will follow suit. Yet this strategy produced various results. Simply put, the more ecclesiastics relied upon the natives to assist in missionary and evangelization projects, the more influence the natives had on such projects to produce various versions of Catholicism throughout Mexico.

Because the Franciscans best documented their initial evangelization efforts, we know more concerning their education methods. The friars focused on the education of the native youth—those less indoctrinated in preexisting beliefs and rituals and seen as more malleable than adults. The focal point for such education was the school. In his work, Ricard quotes Pope Pius IX in saying, "A mission without schools is a mission without a future."[32] The actions of the early missionary friars indicate they would have agreed. Although the Franciscans began the enterprise of school building in Mexico, the other orders soon followed suit so that nearly every convent had an accompanying school. Documentation suggests that even smaller towns—the *pueblas de visita*—at a distance from those central had a church that also served as a school or had a schoolroom attached.[33]

Chroniclers and historians have recounted the practice of early ecclesiastics employing painted pictures when teaching the doctrine. Soon, the assertion that pictographic catechisms, or Testerians,—small books which teach the catechism with pictures that can be "read" line by line—were the products of such early priests as a means to overcome the language barrier became firmly entrenched. However, Louise Burkhart's recent examination of these pictographic texts and their association with a popular seventeenth- and eighteenth-century small catechism argues for a reevaluation of this assumption and presents compelling evidence for their later creation.[34] Regardless, we

32 Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 207.

33 Juan Francisco Molina Solís, *Historia de Yucatán durante la dominación Española*, vol. 1 (Mérida: Imprenta de la Lotería del Estado, 1904), 322. The *Relaciones Geográficas*—sixteenth-century reports from encomenderos in response a questionnaire given by Philip II—frequently mention schools for natives and, oftentimes, their native instructor. For Yucatan see *Relaciones Histórico-Geográficas de la Gobernación de Yucatán: Mérida, Valladolid y Tabasco*, vol. 2 (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1983), 199, 226, 246, 299, 336.

34 Louise M. Burkhart, "The 'Little Doctrine' and Indigenous Catechesis in New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 94, no. 2 (2014): 167–206.

may well imagine that instruction in those early years was an eclectic tapestry of images, song, and oral mediums.

In efforts to preserve the influence of the nobility, the Franciscans varied the religious education natives received according to status. Commoners assembled on the outside patios of the church each day to receive basic instruction that included the catechism and the four principal prayers (the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Apostles' Creed, and the Salve). As boarders, the sons of the native nobility received advanced instruction in the schools beyond the basic catechism and prayers to include theology, reading and writing in Spanish, native languages, and sometimes Latin.[35] Prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, the native nobility occupied positions of religious and political authority as well as filling myriad other roles as educators and record keepers of local polities. Thus, their education in the religious schools reinforced such preexisting traditions while also inserting within them a Christian component.

With such instruction, these trained noble youth became invaluable assets to ecclesiastics serving in various capacities. Some would tend the grounds or become cooks in the convents and churches; some sang in the choir. Those skilled in reading and writing assisted in the education of others including those friars learning the language. Others, upon returning to their towns, assisted the resident ecclesiastics or, in the lack thereof or in the frequent absence of the priest, acted as surrogate priests. These assistants held a variety of names but are typically referred to as *fiscales* for the Nahua, and *maestros* for the Maya. Their responsibilities were many and varied to include educating the youth, baptizing the sick and dying infants, confessing the dying, record keeping, preaching, and the overall care of the church and its native parishioners in the town.[36] Simply put, for most of the native population the everyday face of the Catholic Church was native, not Spanish.

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35 Various works address the topic of native education including José María Kobayashi, *La educación como conquista: Empresa franciscana en México* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1974); Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest*, 96–101; *Martín Ramos Díaz,* "Idólatras y mentores. Escuelas en el Yucatán del siglo XVI," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 28, no. 28 (2003); Christensen, *Catholicisms*, 54–56; Christensen, *Translated Christianities*, 7–8; William Hanks, *Converting Words: Maya in the Age of the Cross* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 59–84; Anne C. Collins, "The Maestros Cantores in Yucatán" in *Anthropology and History in Yucatán*, ed. Grant D. Jones (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977); *Códice franciscano, siglo XVI. Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México*, ed. Joaquín García Icazbalceta (Mexico City: Imprenta de Francisco Díaz de León, 1889), 62–73.

36 *Códice franciscano*, 82–84; France Scholes et al., *Documentos para la Historia de Yucatán*, vol. 2, *La iglesia en Yucatán* (Merida: Conapñía Tipográfica Yucateca, 1938), 25–34.

Importantly, select trained natives played both indirect and direct roles in the composition of religious texts in native languages. Sermons, catechisms, prayers, confessional manuals, and even religious dramas translated into Nahuatl, Yucatec Maya, and other languages were important in the instruction of the natives and the overall development of the missionary endeavor. During the initial decades of evangelization, Nahuas and ecclesiastics collaborated closely together to produce an impressive number of religious texts to create what scholars have termed the "Classical" or "Golden Age" of Nahuatl text production.[37] Some appeared in both Spanish and the native language; others simply in the native tongue. Some were brief treatises on the Christian doctrine; others, were veritable masterpieces whose length and content rivaled their European antecedents.

For example, in 1606 fray Juan Bautista published his extensive *Sermonario* containing lengthy sermons in Nahuatl written for various feast days and the four Sundays of Advent. As a Franciscan and an expert in the Nahuatl language, Bautista instructed at the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco—the Franciscan's center for native education in the sixteenth century. His lengthy *Sermonario* exists today as a token of what ecclesiastic and native collaboration could accomplish. Indeed, Bautista openly recognized the collaborative nature of the *Sermonario* which included the direct and indirect assistance of eleven friars and eight natives.[38]

The wealth of Nahuatl religious texts available to scholars today testifies to the successful result of such missionary endeavors, despite conservative opposition, to convey the gospel in the printed vernacular of central Mexico. Yet geographic variation existed both within and without the friars' center of influence. Yucatan, for example, remained a periphery throughout the colonial period only receiving a scant amount of ecclesiastics—about 2.9 percent of all friars sent from Spain by the crown.[39] This was a result of a variety of factors. Yucatan lacked the natural resources of gold and silver requisite to entice Spanish conquistadors thus delaying the foundation of Mérida, Yucatan's capital city, until 1542. Although on paper this concluded the Conquest, the Spaniards had achieved merely a tenuous hold of the northwestern section

37 Barry Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books: Language and Expression in Colonial Nahuatl Publications" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1993), 114–32.

38 For an excellent examination of the *Sermonario* see Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," 142–165.

39 John D. Early, *The Maya and Catholicism: An Encounter of Worldviews* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2006), 133.

only of the peninsula by this time erroneously referring to the rest of the region as *despoblado* or "uninhabited."

The sparse Spanish settlement of Yucatan likewise resulted in a lighter presence of the Church in general. Numerous ecclesiastics complained that the Maya lived in a state of religious infancy due to, among other things, the lack of clergy and printed religious texts in the Maya language. The secular priest Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar commented on the matter acknowledging both the Mayas' capacity for learning, and their ability to conduct idolatries and blasphemies unheard of in other parts of New Spain. In one instance he recalls two Mayas, Alfonso Chable and Francisco Canul, who claimed themselves to be a pope and a bishop and who used the sacred ornaments of the sacraments, including the oil and chrism, to worship their "idols." Sanchez de Aguilar stated, "Where else such audacity? Such treachery? … Where else so many idolaters? … Never have I heard of such things in the archbishopric of Mexico, in Tlaxcala, Michoacán, Chiapas, Guatemala, or Oaxaca."[40] For him, the solution to the particularly neophytic state of the seventeenth-century Church in Yucatan included an increase of ecclesiastics, particularly Jesuits, and the printing of religious texts in Maya.[41]

Similar complaints can be heard throughout the colonial period. Indeed, in 1846 José María Meneses commented on the need for more printed texts, particularly sacramental manuals, translated into Maya stating, "I don't know of any in the Yucatec language other than manuscripts for the private use of curates that they have translated out of necessity."[42] Despite such pleas, the Yucatan would not receive its own printing press until 1813, and available printed texts in Nahuatl continued to vastly outnumber those in Maya. Moreover, by the end of the colonial period well over half of all Maya towns still lacked a resident priest.[43] In such cases, ecclesiastics relied even more on their native assistants who used a myriad of texts to help them fulfill their duties as both surrogate priests and as leaders of education in the community.

Given such duties, natives trained in religion and alphabetic writing not only assisted ecclesiastics in composing texts, but authored texts of their own. Technically, ecclesiastical authorities had prohibited natives from composing

40 Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, *Informe contra idolorum cultores de obispado de Yucatán*, 3rd ed. (Mérida: E. G Triay e Hijos, 1937), 153–54.

41 Ibid., 171–81.

42 Fray Joaquin Ruz, *Coleccion de sermones para los domingos de todo el ano, y cuaresma* (Mérida: José D. Espinosa, 1846), 9–10.

43 Philip C. Thompson, *Tekanto, A Maya Town in Colonial Yucatan* (New Orleans: Tulane University Middle American Research Institute, 1999), 17.

and preserving their own religious texts and would, on occasion, confiscate such unauthorized texts. For example, fray Bernardino de Sahagún discovered an unauthorized *Exercicio quotidiano* (a manuscript with daily exercises designed to better prepare one for the Eucharist) claiming, "I found this exercise among the Indians. I do not know who produced it, nor who gave it to them. It had many errors and incongruities." Sahagún, with the help of his native amanuenses corrected the work, and later the seventeenth-century Nahua historian Chimalpahin, included a copy of the work among his papers.[44] Similar confiscations occurred among the Maya who had created their own texts explaining, among other things, the creation of the world.[45]

Moreover, as we have seen, the First Mexican Provincial Council of 1555 set severe limitations on the contributions of natives as assistants and authors, and the topic would arise again in subsequent councils.[46] In truth, the situation was a paradox, and ecclesiastics knew it. In a 1576 letter to the General Council of the Inquisition in Seville, the Holy Office in Mexico stated:

> [A]nd just as the Epistles and the Gospels in Spanish are confiscated, it would be good to confiscate the Holy Scriptures, printed and handwritten, that circulate among the Indians and among those who evangelize them. And although without this they (the Indians) could not be evangelized, and it was right that their ministers had it to teach them, it would be convenient that all were one general doctrina (book of Christian doctrine) with the same words, without any difference, and so that there are not many doctrinas, and that each friar makes his own differently; and that the Indians, according to the order of Saint Francis, Saint Dominic, Saint Augustine by whom they are evangelized, dedicate themselves as if to a different sect; and if this general doctrina and sermonary for all of

44 For more information on the *Exercicio quotidiano* see Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Adiciones, apéndice a la postilla y ejercicio cotidiano*. ed. Arthur J. O. Anderson (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1993). For its connection with the Chimalpahin papers, see Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, *Codex Chimalpahin: Society and Politics in Mexico Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco, Texcoco, Culhuacan, and Other Nahua Altepetl in Central Mexico*, vol. 1, eds. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Susan Schroeder (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 7–10, 131–83.

45 Diego López de Cogolludo, *Historia de Yucatán* (Madrid: García Infanzón, 1688), 192–93; Sánchez de Aguilar, *Informe*, 181; René Acuña, "Escritos Mayas inéditos y publicados hasta 1578: testimonio del obispo Diego de Landa," *Estudios de cultura Maya* 21 (2001): 168–9; Coronel, *Discursos predicables*, xv.

46 See, for example, the decrees of the Second Mexican Provincial Council of 1565. Lorenzana, *Concilios provinciales*, 201–202.

> the Gospels of the year was made, it would be a work very necessary and advantageous, and it would end all the others that circulate by hand; and then, because the Indians would have the doctrina, it would not be that they would have the sermons nor Epistles and Gospels in their language that are so miserable and of such fragile and limited wit that the Holy Scriptures in the vernacular would be more harmful to them than those in Spanish.[47]

The passage makes clear a few important items. First, ecclesiastics were concerned about religious texts in native languages. This concern should be viewed within a broader, global scope of the Church's debate regarding the vernacular translation of Scripture in general and the dangers figures such as Luther and Erasmus and humanism posed to the reforming Church.[48] Second, each order preached and produced his own form of Catholicism resulting in a diversity in the doctrine. The problem of different religious texts producing or promulgating different versions of Catholicism was well known to all ecclesiastics. As a solution, the 1576 letter proposes a unified, single doctrina in hopes that it would supplant all others. Scores of subsequent ecclesiastics would offer the same solution to the diversity they saw in religious texts, but to no avail.[49]

Finally, the letter references the problematic existence of handwritten religious texts. The printing press played a key role in the Counter Reformation for both Protestants and Catholics in educating their respective folds. In Spain and New Spain, the printing press became a means to regulate the Catholic message produced. Church officials both within and without the Inquisition established rules and restrictions on what could be printed and what could circulate in print. Handwritten texts, however, avoided such precautionary protocols and, thus, posed a threat to the unification and orthodoxy so coveted by the post-Tridentine Church. As such, and as we have seen, great care was taken to restrict the natives' ability to compose and possess religious texts autonomously.

Importantly, natives employed their writing skills in numerous autonomous ways throughout the colonial period in the creation of last wills and testaments, historical accounts including annals and primordial titles, and copious

47 Francisco Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI* (Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1914), 35–37.

48 See Martin Nesvig, "The Epistemological Politics of Vernacular Scripture in Sixteen-Century Mexico," *The Americas* 70, no. 2 (2013): 165–201.

49 The problem of various texts producing various forms of Catholicism is covered in detail in Christensen, *Catholicisms*.

mundane documents from bills of sale to the records of *cofradías* (religious brotherhoods). Natives authored many of such texts autonomously and for native audiences, but because they were non-doctrinal, the texts were allowed.[50] The common native practice of independently authoring non-religious texts certainly encouraged the practice of authoring religious texts despite prohibitions. Here, the ability of ecclesiastical authorities to prohibit native authorship of religious texts mirrors that of the Inquisition in general which, as poignantly illustrated by the revisionist historian Henry Kamen, was much more omniscient in reputation than in reality.[51]

Indeed, surviving texts today confirm the natives' authorship of religious texts throughout the colonial period. For example, a Nahuatl text erroneously titled the "Nahuatl Bible" contains a sermon recounting the conversion of St. Paul and the ministry of St. Sebastian in unorthodox ways. Before his conversion, Paul is described as an idolater who offered blood sacrifices to idols, and St. Sebastian attempts to convert nobles and rulers with distinct Nahua characteristics including the possession of women, slaves, wealth, and the practice of human sacrifice.[52] In the end, the sermon drastically alters the biblical and traditional accounts of these two popular saints.

Furthermore, Ben Leeming recently discovered, and is currently researching, a fascinating Nahua-authored text from the sixteenth century that relates, among other things, a confrontation between a righteous hermit and the Antichrist and fellow demons. The demons take the form of precontact Nahua deities and other sinners appear as precontact natives deemed particularly dangerous by ecclesiastics: the *tonalpouhqui* (readers of the day signs on the native calendar and labeled as soothsayers), the *ticitl* (healer, physician), the *ahuiani* (prostitute), the *cuiloni* (sodomite), and so on. The hermit's verbal battle with the Antichrist appears to lack any European cognate and is the result of the native author's creation.[53]

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50 The Annals of Tlatelolco is one of various examples. See an intriguing study of the Annals and similar texts in Kevin Terraciano's "Three Views of the Conquest of Mexico from the *Other* Mexica," in *The Conquest All Over Again*, 15–40.

51 See his *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).

52 For more on the sermon and its contents regarding Paul, see Christensen, *Catholicisms*, Ch. 6; for the sermon's account of Sebastian see Christensen, "Nahuatl in Evangelization."

53 I am indebted to Ben Leeming for his sharing his preliminary work on this text. See his forthcoming dissertation on the text. The manuscript itself is located in the Hispanic Society of America MS. HC: NS3/1 [sermones y miscelánea de devoción].

Copious examples likewise exist among other native cultures in Mexico. David Tavárez has found numerous examples of clandestine unauthorized texts, including those of a religious nature, among the natives of Villa Alta in the Oaxaca Valley where the Domincans dominated the missionary effort with varying results.[54] The Maya too participated in autonomous text production. Like other religiously and alphabetically-trained natives, the Maya employed their acquired knowledge in both new and old ways. Although they assisted the local ecclesiastic with Mass, Sunday duties, and other Church matters, they also composed and maintained historical and religious texts deemed important by the town. For example, a genre of manuscript compilations took the form of Maya Christian copybooks. These copybooks preserved various religious texts the Maya composed, copied, amended, and recopied over the years for a native audience of individual towns.

Among the contents of such texts, various include a Maya redaction of the Creation. Here the Creation is retold in ways both similar and different to that found in corresponding European texts. For example, although the Maya texts arrange the universe in layers after a Ptolemaic model popular throughout Europe at the time, they place the *yax chel cab* (the first tree of the world) in the center of Early Paradise. This Maya world tree is found inscribed throughout Maya sites and held deep symbolic meaning in their worldview as an *axis mundi* rooted in the underworld and extending through the middleworld until finally reaching the upperworld.[55]

To be sure, not all autonomously authored texts by the natives resulted in unorthodox interpretations of Catholicism. However, when unorthodoxy does occur we should be careful not to attribute such to the native author's inability to understand the Christian doctrine. Nor should we assume it an intentional form of resistance or blatant rejection of Catholicism. Rather, it is best understood through the lens of preexisting native practices. Numerous examples exist where natives reinterpret historical events or stories in ways that best suited their present needs.

Take, for instance, the so called "primordial titles" natives composed of the Conquest to legitimate their local polity in both native lore and the Spanish

54 See David Tavárez, "The Passion According to the Wooden Drum: The Christian Appropriation of a Zapotec Ritual Genre in New Spain," *The Americas* 62 no. 3 (2006): 413–44; Tavárez, *The Invisible War*; David Tavárez, "Representations of Spanish Authority in Zapotec Calendrical and Historical Genres," in *The Conquest All Over Again*, 206–25.

55 I discuss the Creation as it appears in two copybooks and various Books of Chilam Balam in my *The Teabo Manuscript: Maya Christian Copybooks, Chilam Balams, and Native Text Production in Yucatan* (University of Texas Press, 2016).

colonial system. Dates, facts, and events are realigned to meet the needs of the author(s) and town. Similarly, religious dates, facts, and events likewise became malleable in the hands of native authors desiring to give an account that best aligned with a local audience and its needs. Thus, St. Paul could become a precontact idolater, St. Sebastian could preach to Nahua nobles, a religious hermit could combat preexisting deities and Nahua types in the forms of the Antichrist and devils, and Earthly Paradise could have a Maya world tree as its most important creation. In this sense, the native authors made Catholicism their own and something that could survive in a colonial world of native and Spanish worldviews.

Overall, the natives' reception of Catholicism was as varied as the roles they served within its colonial structure. Practiced and believed religion is an intensely personal subject that many have only examined from the corporate level. Certainly it is tempting to polarize the natives into those who rejected and resisted the Church, and those who embraced the new religion. Yet appearances can be deceiving. Disinterest and lack of opportunity for instruction in the new religion could be mistaken for resistance just as cooperation in a desire to advance and solidify one's position and rank in a new colonial society inseparably connected to Catholicism could be mistaken for sincere conversion. In the end, natives had a wide range of options between resistance and collaboration.

Additionally, it bears remembering that "faithful" native Catholics were defined by their ability to look the part or, as Burkhart states, "To be Christian meant that one participated in group and individual recitations of a small set of sanctioned texts."[56] Overall, the natives of Mexico, perhaps, were most similar to many Christians today who modify and adapt their own religious engagement to meet personal and fluid needs and desires. Some choose more, others less. Yet such modifications are not seen as "defiance" or a "rejection" by those who engage in them and most would still define themselves as "good Christians."[57] We should afford the same courtesy to a native recording or creating a text outside Spanish auspices who takes some occasional unorthodox liberty with the text, or one who attends Mass but then returns to his fields to offer a prayer to a rain deity.

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56 Burkhart, "The Little Doctrine," 170.

57 Nuanced works going beyond the resistance and collaboration paradigm include William Taylor, "Two Shrines of the Cristo Renovado: Religion and Peasant Politics in Late Colonial Mexico," *American Historical Review* 110 no. 4 (October 2005): 945–74; Patricia Lopes Don, *Bonfires of Culture: Franciscans, Indigenous Leaders, and Inquisition in Early Mexico, 1524–1540* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010).

An Evolving Evangelization

The Franciscan's early dominance of the missionary project and their mass baptisms brought criticism from other ecclesiastics and the Crown. This politically charged situation and a desire to form a more pure Church in the New World encouraged the sixteenth-century bishop of Mexico City, the Franciscan Juan de Zumárraga, to expect exemplary behavior from both Spaniards and the trained and baptized native elite. Regarding the latter, however, the Franciscans expected much given their limited resources. Natives received scant instruction prior to baptism and instruction afterwards was placed largely in the hands of native assistants who themselves were neophyte converts. Moreover, the Franciscans mistook the early cooperation of native leaders (motivated largely by sociopolitical benefits) as evidence of conversion.

Thus, when spiritual backsliding began to appear among the natives, motives of self-preservation encouraged the Franciscans to deflect blame from themselves and place it on the shoulders of negligent Spaniards and native leaders.[58] Employing inquisitorial powers, Zumárraga made examples of such "resistors" with the apex of his inquisition culminating with the 1539 trial and execution of the native ruler of Texcoco, don Carlos Ometochtli. For the bishop, excuses of "ignorance" could not save the trained nobility whose actions he viewed as deliberate resistance. The Franciscan Diego de Landa took similar, although much harsher, action in Yucatan where in 1562 he employed inquisitorial powers to torture and execute numerous Maya.[59]

Such actions from Franciscan leaders only invited more criticism from both rival ecclesiastics and Spain. Eventually, in 1571, Philip II officially organized the Inquisition in New Spain and deliberately removed the natives from its jurisdiction. Philip, like so many others in colonial Mexico, viewed the natives as weak minded and childlike. For their part, the Franciscans in the remainder of the sixteenth century rededicated themselves to the education of the natives who they saw as being misled by the devil. Yet by the mid-seventeenth and into the eighteenth century native schools were in decline, unorthodox practices continued to appear among the baptized, and the increasing native

58 Indeed, the vast majority of Inquisition trials supervised by Zumárraga concerned Spaniards.

59 Lopes Don, *Bonfires*, 175. Lopes Don provides additional insights on Zumárraga and his Inquisition throughout her work. See also, Tavárez, *Invisible War*, Ch. 2. For an excellent overview of the Inquisition in general see John F. Chuchiak IV ed., trans., *The Inquisition in New Spain, 1536–1820: A Documentary History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012).

population and the difficulty of preaching in native tongues continued to strain the resources of priests. As a result, shorter, more concise religious texts began to dominate the printing press, and some priests believed that even these were too much for the natives to master.[60] In short, optimism gave way to pessimism, and the hopeful missionary endeavor held by many early friars gave way to a tempered, more simplified project for the natives that emphasized a rudimentary understanding of the Faith.[61]

Although the general infantilization of the natives helped friars to justify their continued necessity as educators and missionaries, the Crown continued to try and bring the regular clergy under episcopal control while limiting their influence. In theory, once the regular orders formed parishes of converted natives, the secular clergy, whom the Crown more directly influenced, would come and assume control. This secularization process was long, exhaustive, and, in many cases, incomplete.[62] Ricard claimed that secularization left the friars with the options of either relinquishing their ministry and return to their convents, or to take their missionary endeavor to the borderlands.[63] Yet the friars did have other options, including resistance which they successfully undertook in certain parishes and regions.[64]

As the sixteenth century progressed, however, friars, particularly the Franciscans and Jesuits, increasingly found new prospects along the Mexican frontier.[65] This movement no doubt gained strength from the Crown's *Royal Orders for New Discoveries* of 1573—issued only one year before the secularization decree of the Ordenanza—which, although routinely ignored, called for the pacification of the natives in new territories by the religious orders rather than military conquest. The orders likewise mandated that the natives be taught

60 For example, see the opinion of the 1813 priest of Yaxcabá in Terry Rugeley, *Maya Wars: Ethnographic Accounts from Nineteenth-Century Yucatán* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 29.

61 Although surely numerous exceptions exist, particularly on the local stage, this serves as a general description. Other factors likewise influenced this shift including the mirroring of European texts which favored simplicity and clarity over earlier Baroque rhetoric. See Joris Van Eijnatten, ed., *Preaching, Sermon, and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Lieden: Brill, 2009).

62 Taylor, *Magistrates*, 83–86.

63 Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 3.

64 Taylor, *Magistrates*, 83–86.

65 Although the Augustinians too found uncontested territory for their labors on the frontier. For more on the Augustinians and their methods of instruction see Robert H. Jackson, *Conflict and Conversion*.

to live in a "civilized" manner. Unlike their sedentary counterparts in central Mexico and Yucatan, natives inhabiting the frontier commonly practiced semi-sedentary or non-sedentary lifestyles. Their transience proved the largest obstacle in their ability to be converted (and taxed) thus the friars set to constructing missions.[66]

Franciscan and Jesuit missions dotted the landscape of northern Mexico and the coast of California. The structure of the missions themselves betrayed their design to make sedentary natives out of those semi- and non-sedentary. The walls of the mission served two purposes: to keep unwelcomed aggressors out, and to keep the natives in. Within the structure's walls, natives received instruction on how to live sedentary lives and be good Christians. A strict regimented routine and the use of physical punishment assisted the friars in achieving, at least superficially, their goals.

Similar to the initial reports of central Mexico, friars in the borderlands reported incredible numbers of baptized converts reaching the tens and even hundreds of thousands.[67] Likewise similar, however, was the eventual realization of backsliding among the newly converted. Natives on the frontier, like their sedentary counterparts, ranged in their response to Christianity, although they generally avoided and evaded the new religion to a greater degree. Some finding opportunity in an alliance with the missionaries and accompanying Spanish system adopted the Faith. A small portion found genuine solace in the new religion and embraced it wholeheartedly. And while the majority engaged Christianity insofar as it benefited their everyday life, others presented open resistance.[68] The Pueblo Revolt is perhaps the most well-known example of resistance on the frontier to Christianity. In 1680, the Pueblo natives of Santa Fe rose up against the Spaniards and friars killing hundreds and driving the remaining settlers out of the region. Spaniards would not regain control of the province until years later.

Overall, mission natives faced the myriad of options of their urban counterparts between rejection and collaboration. What once began as an endeavor among the central polities and sedentary natives of Mexico spread into the

66 For an overview of the topic see David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 92–121.

67 For examples of such claims, see *Benavides' Memorial of 1630*, Cyprian J. Lynch, ed., Peter P. Forrestal, trans. (Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1954).

68 Susan M. Deeds provides a broad pattern of native responses to missions in her "Indigenous Responses to Mission Settlement in Nueva Vizcaya," in *The New Latin American Mission History*, ed. Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), p. 78.

borderlands. Regardless of location, native collaboration was essential to the missionary project, and natives would, in the end, determine their degree of acceptance of Christianity and change it according to everyday circumstances, thus allowing for a fluid conversion of varying intensities and, thus, resulting in varying degrees of success for the missionaries of Mexico.

CHAPTER 2

The Andes

Aliocha Maldavsky

Introduction

Religious conversion of the Native American peoples was a common aim and justification for the Iberian Monarchies, which connected continents on a large scale, from the 15th century onwards. Early modern Ibero-America was a quite unique set of new societies, with people coming—either freely or under coercion—at least from three continents, going through uprooting experiences and demographic collapse, interacting together within new kinds of hierarchic patterns and colonial forms of domination and labor pressure.

Conversion and evangelization of spaces and peoples of the Americas could be dealt with from a messianic and millenarian prospective, but should first of all be studied as instruments of power for the Iberian sovereigns. Missionaries contributed to the conquest and colonization of the American continent, as well as to the debates about their legitimacy. As any other Iberian social actor, they were part of the process of social and political control of the native societies. Conquerors' actions, on the other hand, were "framed in terms of a Catholic crusade against the infidel".[1] Therefore conversion to Catholicism in the New World is indissolubly related to conquest and colonization.

The purpose of this chapter is to give a brief overview of catholic missions and conversion of Andean peoples from the 16th to the 18th century. These were processes of interaction and adaptation to local conditions within a larger and global framework. More than one decade after the Mesoamerican peoples, Andeans suffered not only from brutal conquest, social and political disarray and demographic collapse. They also faced civil wars between Spaniards and indigenous resistance movements against invasion (in Vilcabamba), enduring, from the 1570's on, massive forced labor for silver mining, due to the presence in the Andes of either silver or mercury deposits (Potosi and Huancavelica). In the last third of the 16th century, the price of religious and political Hispanic

1 Karen Spalding, *Huarochirí, an Andean society under Inca and Spanish rule* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1984) 240.

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hegemony in Europe was partly paid for by Andean mining. In the meantime, Roman Catholicism was renewing itself through the tools elaborated by the Council of Trent (1545–1563), whose decrees were adopted as laws by Philipp II in 1564 and rapidly applied to Hispanic America.

This colonial situation[2] has to be taken into consideration when analyzing the process of conversion of Andean peoples, and eventually its differences with that of Mesoamerica. First studied from an institutional and hagiographic viewpoint, evangelization happened to be presented as a quite successful Christianization and missionaries as defenders of the Indians against conquerors.[3] This was partly due to the importance of Dominicans in Peru and their links with Bartolomé de Las Casas.[4] From the 1960's and 1970's on, the search for the point of view of indigenous converted and their resistance to Christian missions was emphasized. A few but very publicized campaigns against the so called indigenous idolatry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries left a great amount of documents and allowed ethnohistorians to investigate religious continuity with prehispanic beliefs.[5] Although it is difficult to conclude a generalized resistance to Christian faith existed, this shift in research led to a better understanding of Andean cultures and their dialogue with the new

2 Georges, Balandier, "La situation coloniale : approche théorique." *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie* n° 110, no. 1 (March 1, 2001) 9–29.

3 Fernando Armas Medina, *Cristianización del Perú, 1532–1600* (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas—Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1953); Pedro Borges, *Métodos misionales en la cristianización de América, siglo XVI*. (Madrid: CSIC, 1960); Ruben Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en el Perú* (Burgos: Aldecoa, 1963–1965); Ruben Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú* (Burgos: Aldecoa, 1953–1962); G. Rolf Foerster, *Jesuitas y mapuches: 1593–1767* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial universitaria, 1996); León Lopetegui, *El Padre José de Acosta y las misiones* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, 1942); José Jouanen, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la antigua provincia de Quito, 1570–1773* (Quito: Editorial ecuatoriana, 2 vol., 1943); Manuel Marzal, *La transformación religiosa peruana* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1988).

4 Isacio Perez Fernandez, *Bartolomé de Las Casas en el Perú. El espíritu lascasiano en la primera evangelización del imperio incaico* (*1531–1573*) (Cuzco: Centro de estudios regionales andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1988); Miguel Ángel Medina, *Los dominicos en América, presencia y actuación de los dominicos en la América colonial española de los siglos XVI-XIX* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992).

5 John V. Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1975); Luis Millones (ed.), *El retorno de las huacas. Estudios y documentos sobre el Taki Onqoy. Siglo XVI* (Lima: IEP-SPP, 1990); Nathan Wachtel, *La vision des vaincus. Les Indiens du Pérou devant la conquête espagnole* (Paris, Gallimard, 1971).

faith imposed by the Spaniards[6]. From the 1990's on, by taking into account the colonial situation, the point of view of the converted and the complexity of institutions, historiography has been able to highlight the role of missionaries either as agents of Spanish domination or as cultural mediators,[7] the social and political motivations of Andean peoples when adopting the conquerors' religion,[8] and the shifts of the ecclesiastical institutions themselves.[9] All these factors took part in the emergence of an Andean Catholicism.[10]

This historiography is largely derived from the writings produced by missionaries that reported on the missions, their correspondances, the annual letters of the Jesuits, and the administrative records of religious orders in general. Often produced for Europe, these sources reflect the projections and images of the evangelizers. But if we examine carefully the conditions of production,

6 Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes. Vision and imagination in early colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Nicholas Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent. Religious Repression and Resurgence in Colonial Peru* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996); Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and its enemies. Colonial andean religion and extirpation, 1640–1750* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997).

7 Diogo Ramada Curto (ed.), *The Jesuits as Intermediaries in Early Modern World*, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, anno LXXIV–147, 2005.

8 Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne, "Dialogue de sourds, dialogue de l'évangélisation dans le Collasuyu andin", in Pierre Ragon (ed.), *Nouveaux Chrétiens, nouvelles chrétientés dans les Amériques* (Paris: Presses universitaires de Paris Ouest, 2014) 134–158; Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne, "De Empédocles a Tunupa: Evangelización, hagiografía y mitos", *Saberes y memorias en los Andes. In memoriam Thierry Saignes* in Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne (ed.) (Paris-Lima: Credal-IFEA, 1997) 157–212; Maria N Marsilli, "'I Heard It Through the Grapevine': Analysis of an Anti-Secularization Initiative in the Sixteenth-Century Arequipan Countryside, 1584–1600", *The Americas*—61–4 (April 2005) 647–672; Steven A Wernke, *Negotiated settlements: Andean communities and landscapes under Inka and Spanish colonialism* (Gainesville): University Press of Florida, 2013; Guillermo Wilde (ed.), *Saberes de la conversión. Jesuitas, indígenas e imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la cristiandad* (Buenos Aires: Editorial SB, 2011).

9 Michela Catto, Guido Mongini, Silvia Mostaccio (eds), *Evangelizzazione e globalizzazione: le missioni gesuitiche nell'età moderna tra storia e storiografia* (Castello Società Editrice Dante Alighieri, 2010); Elisabetta Corsi, *Órdenes religiosas entre América y Asia: ideas para una historia misionera de los espacios coloniales* (México: Colegio de México, 2008); Aliocha Maldavsky, *Vocaciones inciertas. Misión y misioneros en la provincia jesuita del Perú en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid-Lima: CSIC-IFEA-Universidad Ruiz de Montoya, 2012).

10 Kenneth Mills, "The naturalization of Andean Christianities", in Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (ed.) *The Cambridge history of Christianity*. Vol. 6, *Reform and expansion, 1500–1660* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 508–539.

they can also reveal the process by which indigenous American populations were confronted by colonial oppression. Administrative and judicial sources, both civil and ecclesiastical—generated by idolatry trials, conflicts between clerics and caciques, jurisdictional conflicts between religious orders or between the regular and secular clergy, ecclesiastical visitations, and notarial acts—likewise contribute to reveal the religious transformations of Andean peoples under Spanish domination. In particular, notarial records constitute a large source still to be fully explored by historians; they deserve to be studied from a socio-religious perspective since colonial archaelology has begun to find its place in historiography. Many of the sources cited below are derived from these notarial acts.

This chapter assumes a large definition of the Andes, the region conquered by the Spaniards from nowadays Colombia to Chile, that is to say a geographical unity defined by the Andean chain. But the degree of domination changes when speaking of the central Andes, towards southern Chile, where Spaniards faced the military resistance of Mapuches, or southern and eastern altiplano, where Chiriguano and other ethnic groups also limited Spaniards' domination. The first two sections deal more specifically with the central Andean situation from the conquest to the seventeenth century. The third section deals with the specificity of missions in the margins, where religious mediation depended on war. The last sections deal with languages of evangelization and with a large and necessarily simplified approach to Andean Catholicism until the 18th century.

1. First Evangelization in the Central Andes (1532–1583)

The missionary model developed in Spanish America put the responsibility of indigenous rural parishes either in the hands of religious orders or secular clergy. But, like in New Spain, first evangelization started in the Andes with the mendicant orders, who were preferred and established themselves in cities and indigenous Andean localities, following the conquest and the distribution of *encomiendas* to Spanish conquerors. According to Juan Carlos Estenssoro, this first evangelization ended in 1583, with the promulgation of the decrees established by the third provincial Council of Lima.[11]

The patterns of evangelization are not clear before Andean parishes, called *doctrinas de indios* or reductions, were established within the *encomienda*

11 Juan Carlos, Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad. La incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo* (*1532–1750*) (Lima: IFEA, 2003) 31.

system in the 1570's.[12] The *encomienda* gave a Spaniard the right to extract tribute and work from a specific group of natives, but he did not have any right over the land. In exchange, the *encomenderos* were responsible for their people's evangelization and compelled to provide them a priest. By delegating the right to extract goods and work from the indigenous peoples, the King delegated part of his evangelization duty.

Before the organization of a colonial order, led by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in the 1570's, the *encomienda* system was a way to reward conquistadors with either means for enrichment or social status. For being the key element of a plunder system, it was strongly criticized and fought by Bartolomé de Las Casas. From the royal point of view, the *encomenderos*' claim that they were lords over vassals met political resistance, and the aim of Charles V's New Laws of 1542 was the programmed end of this excessive freedom given to local Spaniards, by limiting the *encomienda*'s possession to two generations. This policy met a violent resistance in the Andes, with the uprising led by Gonzalo Pizarro and other *encomenderos*, which was broken in 1548 by Licenciado La Gasca. Philip II's subsequent indigenous policy represented a compromise, by still appointing *encomiendas*, but under tight control of the Crown's officers, organizing forced labour in a large scale, forbidding *encomenderos* to profiting from peoples' work and having tribute directly paid by the Indians to the King. In the 1550s, the *encomenderos* were banned from living among Indians in their villages, in accordance with the ideal of separated republics, the Indian and the Spanish, which guaranteed the King's direct sovereignty over the Amerindian population.[13]Against this ideal, until the end of 16th century, *encomenderos* would claim for their privileges perpetuity, hence the right to be feudal lords. Their conception of power implied a seigneurial model of indigenous conversion to Christianity. Thanks to the presence of their European lords, Andean people would embrace the new faith by sociopolitical personal ties, ideally without the mediation of the *kuraka*, their traditional local authorities.[14]

During the period of plunder, Inca resistance and civil wars, and until the 1570's, *encomenderos* and priests, either regular or secular, enjoyed relative freedom. Even if bishops were appointed since the 1530's,[15] ecclesiastical

12 Armas Medina, *Cristianización,* 109–133.

13 Estenssoro, *Del paganismo,* 41.

14 Estenssoro, *Del paganismo,* 38–41.

15 The first Andean diocese to be established was Cuzco (1537), then Lima (archdiocese, 1546), Quito and Popayán (1546), La Plata (1552, archdiocese in 1609), Santiago de Chile (1561), Concepción (1564), Santa Fe de Bogotá (archdiocese, 1564), Arequipa and Trujillo (1577, but really established in 1609), Santa Curz de la Sierra (1605). Valentin Trujillo

authorities had little power and influence over the ongoing evangelization process, due to the extent of the territory (from Colombia to Chile), the dispersion of indigenous localities, and the weight of local context in the power relation between Indians and Spaniards.

Members of religious orders arrived in the Andes from the 1530's on in small groups, with the first foundation of the Dominican province in 1540 (Vicente Valverde had come with Pizarro in 1532), then the Franciscan one in 1552 and the Mercedarian in 1560.[16] Members of the Augustinian order came in 1551, and the Jesuits came in 1568.[17] The arrival of members of the secular clergy didn't follow any specific order, as they came by their own means from the beginning of the Spanish conquest onward. Many of them were appointed as priests in charge of Spaniards in the first churches of the cities founded by the conquerors. They also took part in the civil wars as chaplains and fought like any other soldier.[18]

There is little information about the actual appointment of priests by *encomenderos*, beside the general idea that they were interested and interesting mediators for colonial pressure.[19] In the Colca Valley, northern Arequipa, Franciscans were established in the 1540's at the invitation of the local *encomendero*, as well as secular priests in close localities.[20] Archeological research about this region establishes that Franciscans "identified nodes of Inca administration as sites for building their *doctrinas*", thus relying on prehispanic administrative nets.[21] In the region of Huaylas, northern Lima, secular priests and Dominicans (among who was fray Domingo de Santo Tomás) shared the main *encomiendas*.[22] To avoid contradiction, *encomenderos* didn't hesitate to appoint lay people in order to give the Indians the first elements of Christian

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Mena, *La legislación eclesiastica en el virreynato del Perú durante el siglo 16.: con especial aplicación a la jerarquía y la organización diocesana* (Lima: Lumen, 1981) 35–45.

16 Estenssoro, *Del paganismo,* 47. Armas Medina, *Cristianización,* 21–50, gives earlier dates.

17 Armas Medina, *Cristianización,* 41–46.

18 José Dammert Bellido, *El clero diocesano en el Perú del siglo XVI* (Lima: Instituto Bartolomé de Las Casas-CEP, 1996) 15–47.

19 Armas Medina, *Cristianización,* 124–125. Spalding (1984) about Huarochiri, and Stern (1982), about Huamanga, don't give clear information about this process of early appointment.

20 Wernke, *Negotiated settlements,* 158–213. Antonine Tibesar, *Franciscan beginnings in colonial Peru* (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1953).

21 Wernke, *Negotiated settlements,* 168.

22 Marina Zuloaga Rada, *La conquista negociada: guarangas, autoridades locales e imperio en Huaylas, Perú (1532–1610)* (Lima: IFEA, IEP, 2012) 108–111. Zuloaga doesn't tell us who appointed these priests.

doctrine. From 1551 on, they were compelled by the Crown to appoint real priests under the threat of forcible refund to the Indians of the money normally devoted to the priest's salary.[23] The threat of being deprived of absolution by the priests, because they had failed in accomplishing their duty, pushed many *encomenderos* to restitute goods to the Indians and make donations to the religious orders.[24]

Religious sources, written much later in the 17th century (Cordoba y Salinas, 1651, Mendoza, 1664), describe this first period in spectacular terms, stressing the devotion of priests, their zeal for baptizing people, erecting crosses and eradicating shrines and mortuary sites, as first steps in their struggle against idolatry. Baptisms and relative openness of Andean people were interpreted by Spaniards as exclusivist conversion, whereas from the Andean point of view, even if the conquest could be seen as the defeat of their own divinities (*huacas*) in Cajamarca, this didn't negate their existence and compatibility with the European God. Hence conversion was for local authorities mostly a matter of political recognition in order to maintain their ruling position in the new context. They understood well the indissolubility between political legitimacy and religion in the eyes of the conquerors.[25] For this reason, conversion should be interpreted as a negotiated process undertaken by a diversity of European religious agents, who didn't deliver a unified message in the first decades. Andean people absorbed and selected what they could of the new faith,[26] even when they seemed to reject it, as it appears with the Taki Onkoy movement, which took place in the 1560's and has been mostly interpreted as a rejection of the Spanish faith and domination.[27]

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23 Estenssoro, *Del paganismo,* 47–48. Armas Medina, *Cristianización,* 121–124.

24 Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "La restitución por conquistadores y encomenderos: un aspecto de la incidencia lascasiana en el Perú," *Anuario de Estudios americanos* 23 (1966): 21–89; Thomas Abercrombie, "Tributes to Bad Conscience: Charity, Restitution, and Inheritance in Cacique and Encomendero Testaments of 16th-Century Charcas," in Susan Kellogg and Matthew Restall (eds.), *Dead Giveaways, Indigenous Testaments of Colonial Mesoamerica end the Andes* (Salt Lake city: University of Utah Press, 1998) 249–289; Aliocha Maldavsky, "Giving for the Mission: The *Encomenderos* and Christian Space in the Andes of the Late Sixteenth Century", in Wietse de Boer and alii *Space and Conversion in Global Perspective*, (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014) 260–284.

25 Estenssoro, *Del paganism*, 36–38.

26 Gabriela Ramos, *Death and Conversion in the Andes: Lima and Cuzco, 1532–1670* (Notre Dame: Indiana, University of Notre-Dame, 2010).

27 For a first analysis of this "religious" movement, see Steve Steve, "El Taki Onqoy y la sociedad andina", *Allpanchis*, 19 (1982) 49–77; Rafael Varón, "El Taki Onqoy: las raices andinas de un fenómeno colonial", in Luis Millones (ed.) *El Retorno de las Huacas* (Lima: IEP-SPP,

With the establishment of an ecclesiastical hierarchy, provincial councils attempted to order the missionary landscape of the Andes, from both disciplinary and doctrinal points of view, and to apply in America the main decrees of the Council of Trent. The three legislative moments to remember were 1551, 1567 and 1582–1583, as well as 1574, when the Crown published the *Ordenanzas de Patronato* to clarify its own prerogatives in religious affairs. Four European actors, with contradictory motivations but compelled to a certain degree of compromise, were on the scene. The friars, the Crown, the *encomenderos* and the secular clergy, handling spiritual as well as political argumentation, were to some extent competing for the control of indigenous souls and bodies. From the 1550's to the 1580's, in a context of demographic indigenous collapse and disorganization of local societies, control of the people and unification of the mission methods and doctrine were the main issues on the table.

The control of *doctrinas de indios* was the first issue that opposed either the bishops to the King or the secular clergy to the regular one. *Encomenderos* were soon denied the right to appoint priests in their *encomiendas*. In 1552, a *Real cedula* ordered that only the bishop could do so, limited in 1567 by the King's exclusive right of presentation—the actual decision -, for he had the Royal Patronage, and the bishops should only proceed to the collation.[28] Confirmed in 1574, the procedure expelled *encomenderos* and limited bishop's rights. The bishops, however, according to the Tridentine decrees, had jurisdiction on parishes against the religious orders, whose superiors regularly changed parish priests without telling anybody and arguing that missionary *doctrinas* were not diocesan parishes. Therefore, one of the main issues for the bishops, for the next two centuries, would be to take control of Indian parishes for social and economic reasons.[29] Members of the secular clergy, mostly coming from the ranks of creoles and/or of mestizo origins, were being formed at the end of the

1990) 332–405, Gabriela Ramos and Henrique Urbano, *Catolicismo y extirpaciôn de idolatrias* (*siglos XVI-XVII*) (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales « Bartolomé de Las Casas », 1993) 137–168. The main source for Taki Onkoy is Cristobal de Molina, *Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los incas* [1574], Enrique Urbano and Pierre Duviols (ed.) (Madrid: Historia 16, « Crónicas de América ») 1989

28 Armas Medina, *Cristianización,* 126–133.

29 Vicente Rodríguez Valencia, "El clero secular de Suramérica en tiempo de Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo", *Anthologica Annua,* 5, 1957, 313–415; Vicente Rodríguez Valencia, *Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo, organizador y apóstol de Sur-América* (Madrid: C.S.IC., Instituto Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo, 1956–1957).

16th century and were seeking employment. In 1593, the Archbishop of Lima, Toribio de Mogrovejo, stated there were about a hundred jobless priests and at least 30 to 40 candidates applying for a single position.[30] The possibilities of enrichment given by these positions encouraged Spanish American priests to embrace such a career, arousing frequent denunciations by indigenous peoples.[31] Parallel to this secularizing bishopric policy, for fiscal and demographic reasons, civil authorities aimed for a better control of indigenous peoples by aggregating them in new villages called *reducciones*, built on the model of the Spanish city. This policy was begun by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, who also appointed visitors to fix the amount of the tribute and control the presence of priests. It had varied results, because it scarcely respected peoples' economic and social organization.[32]

In the 1580's, the Bishop of Cuzco, who had jurisdiction over the Collagua people of the Colca valley administrated by the Franciscans, obtained those *doctrinas* for the secular clergy. But under the pressure of the local Andean authorities, the *kuraka*, the Franciscans were confirmed until the 18th century.[33] Franciscans were considered better allies by the local *kuraka* than secular priests to preserve their economic activities and avoid the policy of *reducciones*.[34] For local authorities, religious reasons didn't seem to be the main ones.

Efforts for a tighter control on Andean people, either with a political or a fiscal prospective, coincided with those of the unification of the Christian faith preached by the Spanish clergy.

30 Rodríguez Valencia, *Santo Toribio* 104–105.

31 Bernard Lavallé, "Las doctrinas de indígenas como núcleos de explotación colonial (s. XVI-XVII)", *Allpanchis,* n°19, 1984, 151–172; Antonio Acosta, "Religiosos, doctrinas y excedente económico indígena en el Perú a comienzos del siglo XVII", *Histórica*, vol. VI, n°1, 1982, 1–34.

32 The basic work on this policy was written by Alejandro Málaga Medina, "Las reducciones en el Perú durante el gobierno del virrey Francisco de Toledo", *Anuario de estudios americanos*, 1974, n°XXXI, 818–842. Recent assessments in Akira Saito, Claudia Rosas Lauro, Jeremy Ravi Mumford, Steven A. Wernke, Marina, Karen Spalding and Zuloaga Rada, "Nuevos avances en el estudio sobre las reducciones toledanas", *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* 39 (1), 123–167, and Akira Saito, Claudia, Rosas Lauro (ed.), *Reducciones. La concentración forzada de las poblaciones indígenas en el virreinato del Perú* (Lima: Fondo editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2017).

33 Wernke, *Negotiated settlements*,166–168.

34 Marsilli, *"I Heard It Through the Grapevine"*.

2. Trent in the Andes

Episcopal efforts for unifying and controlling the content of the preached faith from the 1540's to the 1580's revealed diversity as well as its eventual heterodoxy. A wider view of the period compels us to take into account the main changes in Western Christianity, due to Reformation and Counter Reformation. Andeans were being converted to a shifting Catholicism and, with the peculiar context of colonial domination, joining a Catholic Atlantic.[35]

This context is helpful when looking at 16th and 17th century's policies and doctrinal texts. Jerónimo de Loaysa, the first Archbishop of Lima, started the effort of unification of doctrine from the 1540's on, producing instructions for the clergy on teaching the indigenous population and combatting ancient Andean beliefs. The first Provincial Council of Lima, in 1551, had the same purpose: to put an end to what was understood as a doctrinal disorder, which certainly existed until the end of the century. The archbishop's instructions of 1545 and 1549, as well as the decrees of the First Council of Lima, had certainly to compete with a great diversity of manuscript texts circulating in the Andes, short catechisms summarizing the Christian faith, made by friars and secular priests, in Spanish and indigenous languages. Written texts were the main media for a religious instruction that depended on the memorization of prayers and the articles of the Faith, generally by indigenous children who were taught to speak, read, sing and also write the Spanish language by the clergy. This explains the early large dissemination of printed and manuscripts short texts, called *cartillas*, either in Spanish or in local languages, repeatedly copied well or badly by the children themselves and crossed out by priests who were worried by eventual errors.

One of those texts was the *Plática para todos los indios*, published by Domingo de Santo Tomás in his *quechua* grammar in 1560 in Spain. Beyond their differences, the main common point of these first texts is the explanation of a very simple faith, with no precise intermediation of the Church, stressing the importance of accepting God as the sole creator and adopting his laws. If Paradise and Hell were gradually incorporated in the spiritual geography of Andean new converts, Purgatory and the Trinity were still not explained, and Mary and Jesus hardly named. According to Juan Carlos Estenssoro, omitting Purgatory was a means of struggling against Andean death cults, and stressing

35 Allan Greer and Kenneth Mills, "A Catholic Atlantic", in Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Jorge R. Seeman, *The Atlantic in global history, 1500–2000* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2007) 3–20.

Hell a way of intimidating local *kuraka*.[36] But those omissions and stresses revealed also an Erasmian conception of the Christian faith that would no longer fit the Catholic reformation model of the last decades of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century.

Provincial councils were organized in 1567 and 1582–1583 for the specific purpose of introducing Tridentine changes in the Andean evangelization context. Promulgated in the Spanish kingdoms, the decrees of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) were useful instruments, either for the Crown or the secular ecclesiastical hierarchy (especially archbishop Toribio de Mogrovejo), to establish a tighter control over Andean populations and the local Catholic clergy. The establishment of the Jesuit order in the Andes, with the figure of José de Acosta and the participation of mestizo translators like Blas Valera, would be of particular relevance in that period of either doctrinal unification or definition of what had to be clearly struggled against in Andean rites and beliefs.[37]

A unique doctrine meant to put an end to a variety of local experiences that had developed during the first period. If the main idols had been destroyed, temples dismantled for building purposes, and liturgical objects stolen for their economic value, some rites and ceremonies had been incorporated within the Catholic practice. This was clear with the introduction by Dominican priests of popular Andean dances and songs (*haylli*) in the new religious context, merging ecclesiastical and popular culture just as they did in the Iberian Peninsula itself and in other places in Europe. Augustinian friars looked for new forms of rituals in which Andean people had an active role, inventing music and ceremonies inspired by the *Old Testament*, and different from the Spanish ones, but using local textiles that would later be considered idolatrous.[38] The use of *khipu* for confession is one interesting example of such adaptation.[39] This shows that accommodation policies were not a monopoly of Asian missions or Jesuit evangelizing practices.

In the debates of the 1560's and later in the 1580's, these experiences were criticized, first of all by civil authorities like Polo de Ondegardo or Juan de Matienzo, as a form of continuity between traditional Andean and Catholic

36 Estenssoro, *Del paganismo*, 47–83.

37 On Blas Valera, Sabine Hyland, *The Jesuit and the Incas: the extraordinary life of Padre Blas Valera, s.j.* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2003).

38 Estenssoro, *Del paganismo*, 146–163.

39 Gary Urton, "Sin, confession, and the arts of book and Cord-keeping: An Intercontinental and Transcultural Exploration of Accounting and Governmentality", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 5 1 (4) 2009: 801–831.

rituals, hiding pagan worship. In the minds of Spanish political and religious authorities, the Andean past and worship were gradually reduced to a diabolical idolatry. This process was not yet completed by the Second Council of 1567. Its decrees condemned idolatry but still encouraged dances and the Christianization of Andean ceremonies. The Tridentine as well as colonial turn would radically move from the 1570's on, with Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, the arrival of the Inquisition and the Jesuits, and the Third Council of 1582–1583. Homogenization of doctrine as well as liturgy went hand in hand with the censorship of Las Casas' works, the condemnation of Erasmism and a strong campaign of denigration of Inca rulers as tyrants, which justified Spanish conquest. Andean resistance in Vilcabamaba was definitely eliminated in 1572; in the same year fray Francisco de la Cruz was put in jail by the Inquisition. The Dominican would be burned at the stake in 1578 for having preached that Indians could be saved without explicit faith in the Trinity and Incarnation, hence without eucharistic sacrament, ideas from then on considered as heterodox.

The tools elaborated by the Jesuits for the Third Council of 1582–1583 would fix the catechism and the rituals, in order to make clear the differences between Catholicism and idolatry. The *Doctrina Cristiana*, a trilingual catechism (in Spanish, Quechua and Aymara) published in 1584 after the Council, contained both sermons and a confession manual and stressed preaching, confession, and communion, whereas individual faith and salvation were highlighted and a specific pedagogy was promoted. Aymara and Quechua were established as the general languages for evangelization in the central Andes, against local dialects.[40]

The Third Council also affirmed the preeminence of the episcopacy over religious orders, with the figure of Toribio de Mogrovejo, second Archbishop of Lima (1581–1606), who pushed for appointing secular clergy to indigenous parishes, created a diocesan seminar, visited his diocese, and left valuable written material for historians.[41] His successor, Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, deepened the struggle against idolatry by promoting in the 1610's a strong repression, in which Jesuits took an active role. Often compared to the Inquisition, this campaign was led by visitors appointed by the archbishop who were to organize

40 About general languages as tools of colonization, see Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, "Las vías indígenas de la occidentalización. Lenguas generales y lenguas maternas en el ámbito colonial americano (1492–1650)", *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 45–1 (2015) 15–36.

41 Rodríguez Valencia, *Santo Toribio*.

trials against idolatrous Indians and supposed sorcerers.[42] This kind of campaign would again be implemented in the 1650's and 1660's by Archbishop Pedro de Villagómez, but would not be a generalized policy all over the Andes, even if we find isolated cases until the 18th century.[43]

The first century of Spanish presence in the Andes reveals a religious process of constant redefinition of doctrinal practices which were complementary to the imperial new paradigm of the Hapsburg monarchs, aiming to take control of the local labor force. For this, while the Spanish power depended on converting the Indians to a universal faith, it was necessary to justify their inferior status within the colonial context. Their permanent unachieved conversion would then be a powerful means of domination. Therefore, it is necessary for the historian to escape the schema of resistance versus domination that has long been adopted. The definition of idolatry and the refusal of ordination to indigenous converts and their descendants were part of a colonial strategy of discrimination that denied the Indians the capacity of becoming full Christians.[44] This was the reason why inspectors and judges of idolatry thought they had to struggle against the worship of false gods, the immorality of Indians, their incapacity for understanding Christian mysteries, and their disrespect for proper social order.[45] But the shifting attitude of evangelizers, constantly discovering idolaters, did not imply that Andean people had preserved an untouched traditional religion after the conquest.[46]

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42 Pierre Duviols, *La Lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial. « L'extirpation de l'idolâtrie » entre 1532 et 1660* (Gap: Louis Jean, 1971); Pierre Duviols, *Cultura andina y represión. Procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías. Cajatambo, siglo XVII* (Cuzco: Centro de estudios rurales andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1986); Pierre Duviols, *Procesos y Visitas de Idolatrías, Cajatambo Siglo XVII* (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos—Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2003); Kenneth Mills, "Bad Christians in colonial Peru", *Colonial Latin Amercian Review*, V-2 (1996) 183–218.; Mills, *Idolatry and its enemies;* Juan Carlos García, *Ofensas a Dios. Pleitos e injurias. Causas de idolatrías y hechicerías. Cajatambo. Siglos XVII-XIX* (Cuzco: Centro de estudios regionales andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1994).

43 Maria Marsilli, *God and evil in the gardens of the Andean South: mid-colonial rural religion in the diocese of Arequipa*, Ph.D, Emory University, Atlanta, 2002; Frédéric Duchêne, « Religion villageoise et extirpation d'idolâtrie. L'exemple d'Arequipa à la fin de la période coloniale », in Ragon (ed.), *Nouveaux Chrétiens* 159–170.

44 Estenssoro, *Del paganismo*.

45 Mills, *Idolatry*, Griffiths, *The Cross*.

46 Bouysse-Cassagne, « Dialogue de sourds ». Claudia Brosseder, *The power of Huacas. Change nd Resistance in the Andean world of colonial Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014).

Mission and evangelization in the Andes should then be also understood in terms of differentiated spaces and contexts of colonial interaction. For this reason, even if we can find many similarities in missionary policies and the indigenous reception of Christianity, central colonial spaces studied up to this point are to be distinguished from those spaces and territories considered as margins. In places as frontiers of the Amazonian world or territories peopled by hostile population, like Chile, colonial domination was difficult and the missionary activity depended on Spanish military action.

3. Missions in the Margins

Spanish domination of the Andean region followed more or less the limits of Tawantinsuyu, the former empire of the Incas. After the death of Huascar and Atawalpa, who were struggling for power when the Spaniards arrived, the decapitation of the empire made possible the Hispanic domination through the preservation of local political structures. But this was more difficult in the regions where the Incas had themselves exerted a lighter, or even, no rule. This was the case in the Amazonian basin, eastern from the Peruvian and Bolivian altiplano, where missions comparable to those of Paraguay were established in the 17th century. Here, missionary action guaranteed Spanish presence bordering on the Portuguese empire.[47] On the other hand, the southern military frontier of Bio Bio remained the main challenge to the Spanish Empire because of the resistance of the Mapuche. According to the Acostian classification of "barbarians," a term which includes all peoples from outside Europe, peoples living on the borders of the Iberian Empires were considered as wild, because they seemed to lack any social and urbane life.

Although the Spaniards founded the city of Concepción in 1550 on the border of the Bio Bio, they failed to dominate the Araucania, situated south of this military frontier. In spite of the foundation of La Imperial in 1552, Spanish fragility in the region was revealed by the Mapuche offensive of 1598–1602. From then on, Spanish presence was limited to a group of military forts and the region lived through alternate periods of war and peace. War culture and economy dominated people's lives and the region became a source of indigenous slaves, legitimately captured in the name of just war.

47 David Sweet, "The Ibero-American Frontier Mission in Native American History" in Eric Langer and Robert Jackson (eds.), *The New Latin American Mission History* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1995) 1–48.

Spanish consciousness of the impossibility to dominate the region through force allowed for a process of pacification in which missionaries, and especially Jesuits, took an important part.[48] First of all, missionary intervention took the form of a "defensive war", conceived and put in practice by the Jesuit Luis de Valdivia between 1612 and 1625. During this period, only missionaries were allowed to cross the river Bio-Bio. Later, Jesuits took an active part in the policy of "parlamentos", which were peace meetings with chosen Mapuche groups in order to Christianize them and establish political agreements.

Southern Bio-Bio was dominated by fragmented political units and extremely fluid alliances with indigenous groups whose "friendship" with Spaniards were temporal and fragile. Therefore, "friends" could suddenly become enemies, and be referred to by Jesuit missionaries as infidels, or *aucas*, a word signifying barbarian for former unsuccessful Inca invaders. Moreover, the Mapuche conception of ethnicity was dominated by their capacity to welcome newcomers' identity, depending on interethnic relationships.[49]

In this general context, baptism and conversion could never be taken for granted because Christianization did not survive inconstant political "friendship". Jesuit missionaries, active from 1598 on, were confronted by the failure of their conversion plan. Settled in Spanish fortresses, they chose the method of itinerary missions, instead of the reduction system implemented in Paraguay in the 17th century. They also adapted to indigenous beliefs, dominated by animism, with no physical idols such as the *huacas* of the central Andes. The missionaries tried to compete with the shamanic figure of the *machi*, whose action could interfere in the natural and supernatural equilibrium. But they had to struggle against indigenous rejection of baptism that native people associated with death and illnesses.[50] Jesuits tried to use baptism as a healing rite, incorporating it within local cosmology. This accommodation was not the only one,

48 Guillaume Boccara, "El poder creador: tipos de poder y estrategias de sujeción en la frontera sur de Chile en la época colonial", *Anuario de estudios americanos*, LVI (1), 1999, 65–94. Jaime Valenzuela Márquez, "Misiones jesuitas entre indios "rebeldes": límites y transacciones en la cristianización mapuche del Chile meridional", in Guillermo Wilde (ed.), *Saberes de la conversión. Jesuitas, indígenas e imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la cristiandad* (Buenos Aires: SB, 2011) 251–272. Foerster, *Jesuitas y mapuches: 1593–1767*.

49 Guillaume Boccara, *Guerre et ethnogenèse mapuche dans le Chili colonial. L'invention du soi* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998).

50 A similar situation is to be found in the French encounter with Amerindian peoples, Denis Delâge, "La religion dans l'alliance franco-amérindienne", *Anthropologie et sociétés*, 15–1 (1991) 55–87.

for missionaries had to accept forms of polygamy and to tolerate burial beyond church grounds in ancestral territories. Adaptations of this kind proved that missionary accommodations were also performed in Hispano-American dominions and that conversion and Christianization depended mostly on the degree of political domination, even within the same continent.

Within those marginal territories, where the Jesuits were becoming the most important Christian force in the 17th century, they tried to produce detailed classifications of the peoples they were seeking to convert and evangelize. An effective strategy required a classification of 'nations', with languages, territories, political organizations and cultural features. Missionaries thought in terms of culturally and linguistically homogenous populations. Their classifications did not always fit the complex reality, as Giudicelli shows regarding the Andean region of Tucumán, and the Calchaquí valley.[51] Sometimes, as the Jesuits assigned specific names and identities for peoples both within and beyond their missions, they ended up creating differences that might not originally have existed at all, or at least not so clearly. Yet these classifications came to play a key role in circumscribing local indigenous nations and in creating a colonial geography.

Ethnohistorical and archeological research on the eastern side of the Andes, called Antisuyo by the Incas, has explored the rich relationship between highlands and lowlands, in other words the Andes and the Amazonian piedmont.[52] Until the 17th century, conquerors and missionaries encountered marginal peoples who, because of colonial pressure, disappeared from the cultural and political landscape and were no longer recognizable, such as the Jívaro block, or who melted into the mestizo population. Missionary writings are the main sources to understand the process of change in these border regions, from southern Colombia to southern Bolivia.[53] The failure of the Spanish conquest

51 Christophe Giudicelli, "Las tijeras de San Ignacio. Misión y clasificación en los confines coloniales", in Wilde, *Saberes de la conversión*, 347–371.

52 Thierry Saignes, *Los Andes orientales, historia de un olvido* (La Paz: CERES-IFEA, 1985); Martti Pärssinen and Ari Siiriäinen, *Andes orientales y Amazonía occidental. Ensayos entre la historia y la arqueolgía de Bolivia, Brasil y Perú* (La Paz: Producciones CIMA, 2003); Federica Barclay, "Olvido de una historia. Reflexiones acerca de la historiografía andino-amazónica", *Revista de Indias*, LXI-223 (2001) 493–511. Thierry Saignes, "Chiriguanos, Jésuites et Franciscains: généalogie d'un regard missionnaires", in Claude Blanckaert (ed.), *Naissance de l'ethnologie? Anthropologie et missions en Amérique XVIe-XVIIe siècle* (Paris, Cerf, 1985) 194–231.

53 Anne Christine Taylor, "The Western Margins of Amazonia from the Early Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century" in Frenck Salomon and Stuart Schwartz (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 188–256.

of the eastern Andes, or the Amazonian western margins, depending on the point of view, "led to a partial dismantling of highland-lowland relations".[54] It opened those spaces to missionary action, to war and to unequal trade with peoples like the *chiriguano*, *chiquitos* or so called *chunchos*.[55]

In the 17th century the Jesuits established missions in Mainas (eastern Ecuador, in the upper Marañón) and in the Mojo territory in eastern Bolivia. Franciscans were also present after the late 17th century and replaced the Jesuits when they were expelled in 1768. These missions were built on the reduction pattern already in practice in Paraguay. The Jesuits established over seventy-four reductions, which existed in different periods over a century and were peopled by around 160,000 Indians in 1700. The reduction system created a European presence in the margins of the Spanish empire that increased in the 18th century. From the point of view of the native peoples it protected them from colonial pressure, in spite of the demographic collapse caused by the Iberian invasion. For instance the Mainas mission fell from some 200,000 people in 1550 to about 20,000 in 1730.[56]

The interaction between missionaries and the indigenous population led to a "mission culture", which changed local political and social organizations without achieving the total conversion desired by the Fathers. With the missionary reductions, the Jesuits adapted a pattern already implemented in the central Andes, creating new hierarchies for native authorities, collective religious organizations and transmitting literary and musical skills. But like in Paraguay, the reductions were flexible places subject to local negotiations and conflicts, quite far from the ideal image built by the missionaries themselves.[57]

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54 Taylor, "The Western Margins of Amazonia", 218.

55 Beatriz Vitar, *Guerra y misiones en la frontera chaqueña del Tucumán* (*1700–1767*) (Madrid: CSIC, 1997). Roberto Tomichá Charupá, *La primera evangelización en las reducciones de Chiquitos, Bolivia* (*1691–1767*) (Cochabamba: Editorial Verbo Divino, 2002).

56 Taylor, "The Western Margins", 225. About the Mojo missions, see, David Block, *Mission culture on the Upper Amazon. Native Tradition, Jesuit Enterprise, and Secular Policy in Moxos, 1660–1880* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1994); and Akira Saito, "Las misiones y la administración del documento: el caso de Mojos, siglos XVIII-XX", *Senri Ethnological Studies* 68 (2005) 27–72; Akira Saito, "Fighting Against a Hydra: Jesuit Language Policy in Moxos". in Shinzo Kawamura and Cyril Veliath (eds.) *Beyond Borders: A global perspective of Jesuit Mission History*, (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 2009) 350–363.

57 See the chapter by Guillermo Wilde in this book.

4. Evangelizing Indigenous Languages

Missionaries were spear-heading mediators for linguistic transformations in the Americas because of their role in promoting a *lengua general* in fragmented and multilingual contexts. In spite of the royal will that Spanish should be the language for the empire, indigenous languages were preferred; after 1574 civil and ecclesiastical legislation reiterated that no priest ignorant of the language of his parishioners should be appointed.

Colonial common languages such as Quechua (Andes), Nahuatl (Mesoamerica), and Tupi (Brazil) were not only vernacular languages adopted within linguistically fragmented spaces. They were colonial because they were cultural and political instruments used to create a unified context for heterogeneous indigenous populations for the purpose of evangelization and labor. If for Nebrija the Spanish language was meant to be the companion of Empire, it would be more suitable to say that the real companions were Latin grammar and indigenous languages.[58] Indeed, colonial common languages were not prehispanic languages adopted by conquerors, but languages transformed through their reduction to the grammatical tools mastered by Spanish intellectuals.[59] Missionaries and clerics were certainly among the more educated Europeans in America, some of them coming from the best centers for humanistic training in 16th century, such as Salamanca or Alcalá. This effort for founding and spreading a *lingua franca* for communication encountered serious obstacles in the New Kingdom of Granada (today Colombia), where evangelizers met no real *lengua general* on which to focus their efforts. They had to face such a diversity that it became very difficult even to choose a common language, a *lengua general*, as it had been done for Quechua.[60]

In the Andean context, the choice of a common language and the production of printed tools for its spread were intimately linked to the political and doctrinal control of what was really taught to the people, as shown by the

58 A bibliography on South American indigenous languages and translation, see Estenssoro, Juan Carlos and Cesar Itier, "Langues indiennes et empire dans l'Amérique du Sud coloniale. Présentation", *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 45–1 (2015) 9–13. Alan Durnston, *Pastoral Quechua. The history of Christian Translation in Colonial Peru, 1550–1650* (Notre –Dame: University of Notre-Dame Press, 2007).

59 César Itier, "What was the 'Lengua General' of Colonial Peru?", in Adrian J. Pearcy and Paul Heggarty (eds.), *History and Language in the Andes* (London: Palgrave, 2014) 63–85.

60 Juan Cobo Betancourt, "Colonialism in the periphery: Spanish linguistic policy in the New Kingdom of Granada, c. 1574–1625", *Colonial Latin American Review* 23, no. 2 (11 June 2014) 118–142.

example of the *Plática para todos los indios* by Domingo de Santo Tomás. From a doctrinal point of view, translation was one of the main issues in the transmission of the Christian faith through vernacular languages. What to translate, how to translate, were of crucial importance for doctrinal unification of evangelization. Whereas Domingo de Santo Tomás offered many translations for religious vocabulary in his *Lexicón*, published in 1560,[61] he did not translate the words 'God' and 'Christian' and many entities linked to the Roman Church, such as 'father', 'church', 'mass', 'confession'.[62] The debates about how to translate concepts such as 'Christ', 'charity', 'church', 'penance' and many others resulted in to no other solutions than Spanish loan words, stressing the idea that those concepts were completely unknown in indigenous societies before the arrival of the Spaniards. As Estenssoro argues, translations are to be understood in terms of negotiation and processes of adjustment to practical situations of communication.[63]

The criticism of the first evangelization put the stress on linguistic issues, pointing out that some choices made by the first missionaries had unexpected results, such as the translation of "Christian" by the Aymara word "to have a name". Missionaries ended up asking people if they had a name, when they wanted to know if they were baptized.[64] Mid-sixteenth century linguistic choices, following Domingo de Santo Tomás, showed preferences for periphrasis and neologisms in order to avoid syncretism. After 1583, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, Spanish loan words instead of translations were preferred for terms such as God, faith, angel, soul, Trinity, spirit, saint, marriage, image, confession, and Purgatory, among many others such as the days of the week. On the other hand, some translations were definitely fixed.[65] The Third Council of Lima established the definite texts that all priests of the region should use for evangelization. The Society of Jesus took an active part in doctrinal choices, by the compilation of the trilingual (Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara) Catechism, published in 1585, under the supervision of José de Acosta and with the work of linguistically skilled Jesuits of mestizo origin.

61 He finds equivalents for words like 'angel', 'baptism', 'to bless', 'unfaithful'. Alfredo Torero, "Entre Roma y Lima: el 'Lexicón' quichua de fray Domingo de Santo Tomás (1560)", in Klaus Zimmermann (ed.) *Descripción de las lenguas amerindias en la época colonial* (Frankfurt/Main-Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 1997) 271–290.

62 About translation of Christian concepts during the first period of evangelization, see, Estenssoro, *Del paganismo*, 84–114.

63 Estenssoro, *Del paganismo*, 89.

64 Estenssoro, *Del paganismo*, 89–90.

65 Estenssoro, *Del paganismo*, 250–255.

For indigenous peoples baptism and memorization of catechism were the signs of integration as subjects within the Spanish empire. Therefore, catechisms and religious tools produced for evangelizing purposes became the means by which children and some chosen adults could achieve literacy in the common language, which might not be their mother tongue, as well as in Spanish, for some of them.[66] There is evidence of the use of manuscript notebooks (*cartillas*), copied by young people under the supervision of priests and containing catechisms with corrections. In 1571, the Inquisition found in Cuzco more than 3000 notebooks on sale.[67] This process of religious education and linguistic training produced the basis of multilingualism in the central Andes (local tongue, Quechua and Spanish), useful not only for indigenous migrating peoples, but also for poor Spaniards and people of mixed origins. All of them needed to communicate for work purposes, such as in Potosí and other mining centers.[68]

Whereas members of the regular clergy claimed to master indigenous languages and often accused the secular priests of ignorance, reform-minded bishops aimed to form a creole diocesan clergy who would know local tongues from childhood experience. Royal and ecclesiastical legislation from the 1580's made compulsory the knowledge of a "general language" in applications for an indigenous parish. Chairs of languages were created in universities and regular lessons were taught in Jesuit colleges. The Jesuits enjoyed a reputation as excellent linguists and produced an important number of grammars and vocabularies in a large variety of indigenous languages. Their humanistic training made them excellent Latinists and efficient grammarians. Jesuit linguists worked all over the American continent to establish standard languages (*lenguas generales*) and to give a written form to many Amerindian oral languages. Among them were Luis de Valdivia, Diego Gonzalez Holguín, Ludovico Bertonio, Diego de Torres Rubio and Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Jesuit linguists, authors of dictionaries and vocabularies, arts of languages and grammars. These works generally contain catechisms and other tools for priests, such as confession instructions or collections of sermons.[69] For these reasons they were

66 Paula Martínez Sagredo, "Evangelización andina, educación y castellanización de los indígenas del común. Apuntes sobre el aporte de la Compañía de Jesús", *Allpanchis*, XLIV, 81–82 (2013) 405–436.

67 Estenssoro, *Del paganismo*, 119.

68 Estenssoro, "Las vías indígenas de la occidentalización".

69 Francisco de Borja Medina, "El conflicto en torno a la lengua de evangelización y sus implicaciones en el virreinato del Perú (siglo XVII)", in *Il Cristianesimo nel mondo atlantico nel secolo XVII* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria ed. vaticana, 1997) 127–176; Alexander

appointed to test the linguistic proficiency required from applicants to an indigenous parish. In 1599, in the diocese of Lima, secular priests were appointed in 118 doctrinas, and 103 of them, according to archbishop Mogrovejo, knew an indigenous language.[70] There were different paths to linguistic knowledge: childhood in a mixed linguistic atmosphere, academic linguistic learning at the University of Lima, or training in a conventual environment such as Jesuit colleges.

In spite of their recognized linguistic skills, the Jesuits were far from sharing a generalized knowledge of local languages in the Andes. Learning and possessing linguistic skills led to a missionary specialization that not every member of the Society of Jesus approved. In the 1580's, General Aquaviva ordered that every member of the order living in a missionary environment should know the language of the native people. But this was far from becoming reality at the beginning of the 17th century. And to encourage local students to learn native tongues, the Jesuit Peruvian Province simplified, for a while, the procedures for getting promotions if students could show that they had linguistic skills. But it was difficult to compel them to learn because for many creole Jesuits, and even for those coming from Europe, being a missionary meant being in permanent contact with Indians, an occupation that they found unattractive compared to teaching or preaching in an urban environment.[71]

The relationship between Catholic missions and local languages in the Andes raises key issues linked not only with doctrinal changes and people's understanding of the preached faith. Beyond religion, linguistic choices had social and political consequences directly related to the colonial context of evangelization, since linguistic unification was useful for domination. For indigenous peoples, converting and learning the language imposed by the conqueror could lead to a better position in colonial society. For Spanish clerics, local language skill could mean, as for Jesuits, a specialization in missionary activities they might not appreciate, or, more frequently, make possible an ecclesiastical career in indigenous parishes. All those factors worked together in the creation of an Andean Catholicism.

Coello de la Rosa, *El pregonero de Dios. Diego Martínez, SJ, misionero jesuita del Perú colonial (1543–1626)* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2010); Otto Zwartjes and alii (ed), *Missionary linguistics/ Lingüística misionera*, 5 vol. (Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2004–2014). Regina Harrison, *Sin and Confession on Colonial Peru. Spanish-Quechua Penitential Texts, 1560–1650* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014).

70 Rodríguez Valencia, *Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo*, 99.

71 Maldavsky, *Vocaciones inciertas*, 259–305.

5. Andean Catholicism

Conversion to Christianity was a process more complex than the use of mere force. What historians have named American, and even Andean Catholicism, was made of such a variety of local adaptations that it is very difficult to reduce it to a common narrative. These local adaptations were performed either by the missionaries and priests or the Andean peoples. "The powerful have no monopoly on dynamic energy", as written by Mills and Grafton.[72] Colonial constraint, linked to the conviction of the necessity of a confessional unity, was clear for the Andean people, who considered Catholicism a means of integrating the new society. Enslaved people were conscious that they would not return to their places of birth, whereas indigenous people knew their traditional world had vanished. Conversion was either a religious or a social and political fact. This doesn't mean that all ancient beliefs and rites were abandoned. They often coexisted with the new faith and were even incorporated into it.

Early testimonies of the Andean reception of Christianity give a picture that cannot be reduced to simple rejection or complete assimilation. Ancient beliefs and conversions could coexist perfectly in the minds of Andean peoples, keen on understanding what was going on in their dramatically disrupted world. In 1565 the Spaniards discovered that in the region of Huamanga, many indigenous people were preaching against the Spanish God, touched by the sickness of dance called Taki Onkoy. Arguing that Andean divinities (*huacas*) were suffering from neglect, they presented themselves as the incarnation of the resuscitated *huacas* and announced that the Spaniards would be expelled if Andean peoples returned to their ancient beliefs. For Spanish authorities this was the proof of indigenous idolatry. If Taky Onkoy might be understood as the manifestation of the Andean religious vitality, it also revealed the penetration of Christianity in the Andes because some arguments of the Indians, such as the resurrection of the *huacas* or the using of Christian names linked to the passion of Christ.[73] Sincere conversions and ancient beliefs could perfectly coexist, and the new faith offered elements of explanation for the dramatic crisis caused by conquest and colonial coercion.

Later, in the 17th century, Andean peoples accused of idolatry constantly argued that they were good Christians even if the often appealed to indigenous sorcerors, just like many urban *mestizo*, *mulato* and Creoles, revealing

72 Anthony Grafton and Kenneth Mills, "Introduction", *Conversion. Old worlds and New* (New York: University of Rocherster Press, 2003), XI.

73 Estenssoro, *Del paganismo*, 126–134.

the interpenetration of local and Christian beliefs and rites. During the second half of the 17th century, traditional Andean burials would often be celebrated in rural communities by people who considered themselves Catholics.[74] Evidence of heterodox practices could still be found in 18th century Arequipa, within a world structured by Catholicism, following peninsular patterns.[75]

As in post-Tridentine Europe, collective organizations, such as confraternities and parishes, played a central role in the construction of a local Catholicism in the Andes. Evidence of the implication of local social authorities in the management of religious life is to be found in parish documentation, such as construction accounts kept by caciques, as in the Colca valley in the 17th and 18th centuries.[76] Confraternities were lay organizations, which elected a *majordomo*, and whose aim was to develop mutual help, finance funeral arrangements and local religious festivities.[77] They depended on the money given by members and could own properties, like land and livestock. Founded in villages and cities, they structured collective social and religious life, contributed to establishing Christian liturgical time and to structuring and implementing new hierarchies. Indeed, Andean confraternities, often under the leadership of local authorities, were an efficient means for perpetuating power and richness.[78] Their study is an important means to understand how collective organizations were main instruments for Andean people to appropriate and negotiate their place in the new political and religious hierarchy imposed by colonial domination. In the meantime, they were excellent canals for keeping control on change and transformations of local traditions.

In cities, confraternities could stage luxurious processions, such as those celebrated for *Corpus Christi* in Cuzco at the end of the 17th century and splendidly represented by a series of paintings. They show how Andean peoples actively participated in Christian celebrations, which gave them the opportunity to display their own bodies in traditional dress link to the prehispanic past, and

74 Ramos, *Death and conversion*, 146–147.

75 Duchêne, "Religion villageoise".

76 Maria A. Benavides, « La fábrica de la Iglesia de Yanquecollaguas (1689–1731), in David J. Robinson, *Collaguas I. Visitas de Yanque-Collaguas; 1591 y documentos asociados* (Lima, PUCP, 2012) 398–488.

77 Olinda Celestino and Albert Meyers, *Las cofradías en el Perú* (Frankfurt: Iberoamericana, 1981); Teresa Egoavil, *Las Cofradías en Lima, siglos XVII y XVIII* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1986).

78 Olinda Celestino and Albert Meyers, "La posible articulación del *ayllu* a través de las cofradías", *Etnohistoria y antropología Andina* (1981) 298–310; Olinda Celestino, "Confréries religieuses, noblesse indienne et économie agraire", *L'Homme*, 1992, 32/122–124, 99–113.

to perform local dances and musicians.[79] Offering to some extent the image of defeated peoples, those celebrations stressed their exemplary Catholicism. Burials and funerary rituals also offered evidence of this visible inclusion of Andean people in the new religious regime, as well as its coexistence with local traditions.[80] Death rites and beliefs might have been the most difficult to Christianize, allowing place for ambivalence.[81]

From the point of view of indigenous peoples, constraint and negotiation were both faces of conversion to the conquerors' faith, which was not only a religious but a social and political process. Political recognition as local authorities was one of the motivations for conversion, in order to be considered a subject of the Spanish King. Their role as heads of confraternities could guarantee control of rural resources, which played an important role in the preservation of their political and economic power. Less prominent individuals in search of social promotion found effective support in participation in religious institutions. This caused the emergence of indigenous religious agents, such as singers, school teachers, musicians, sacristans, whose skills, literate and artistic, distinguished them from the rest of the population and made possible a redistribution of power within Andean communities and social climbing within the new colonial context.[82] For priests and missionaries, these *ladinos* Indians were models to be highly valued by the rest of the indigenous population as examples of devotion and conversion. Literary skills, with the mastering of a second language, and even Spanish, put those *ladinos* in mediating positions not only in the religious sphere, but also in the judicial one because reading and writing were fundamental skills in facing colonial pressure.[83]

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79 Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ. Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, (Duke: Duke University Press, 1999).

80 Ramos, *Death and conversion*.

81 Bouysse-Cassagne, « Dialogue de sourds »; Duchêne, « Religion villageoise ». Pierre Ragon, "La muerte cristiana entre la pastoral evangelizadora y las prácticas indígenas: Un acercamiento comparativo (México central y los Andes del centro-sur, siglo XVI—principios del XVII)", *Chungará: Revista de Antropología Chilena,* 44(4) 691–705.

82 John Charles, *Allies at odds: the Andean church and its indigenous agents, 1583–1671* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010). Joanne Rappaport and Thomas Cummins, *Beyond the lettered city: indigenous literacies in the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012); Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakis (eds.), *Indigenous intellectuals: knowledge, power, and colonial culture in Mexico and the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

83 Karen Spalding, "Social climbers: changing patterns of mobility among the Indians of colonial Peru", *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (Nov., 1970) 645–664.

All these elements led to the construction of an Iberoamerican Catholicism, which combined Iberian religious institutions and beliefs, adapted to and by the local political conditions, cultures and peoples. This is particularly visible in the decoration of churches, chapels, cloisters, and conceptual buildings, called "Mestizo style" or, more recently "Andean Hybrid Baroque", in which Andean artists and craftsmen took an active part.[84] The role of Andean sculptors, masons and architects highlighted the active part of Native Americans in the shape of American Catholicism, which was not only the production of the missionary clergy.[85] It is also visible in the construction of local devotions, such as that of the Virgin of Copacabana, today patroness of Bolivia. Its collective origins in the 1580's, with the sculpture of the image crafted by indigenous hands, and its promotion by a local cacique, showed the importance of native Andean participation in the imposed religion. Her cult also perpetuated the traditional sacredness of Lake Titicaca through colonial times.[86]

These exemplars of Andean Catholicism encountered Spanish resistance up to the 18th century. Religion played an important role in justifying colonial hierarchy and Iberian superiority. For that reason it would be particularly difficult to promote indigenous sanctity, as shown by the example of Nicolás de Ayllón, whose cause was blocked by the Spanish Inquisition, and Indians were not accepted for ordination until 1766, after a long struggle.[87]

Conclusion

Andean evangelization from the 16th to the 18th century represented a missionary project that slowly constructed a Christianized space and culture, in which Andean people took an active part. The violence of the conquest and the great importance of labor pressure on the native population, due to the presence of mining centers of imperial importance like Potosi and Huancavelica, made religion an efficient means either for integrating the conquered people in the new society that was then being built, or for creating novel hierarchies useful for social control. The fight against idolatry and the rejection of Indian

84 Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *The Andean hybrid baroque: convergent cultures in the churches of colonial Peru* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010).

85 Thomas A. Abercrombie, *Pathways of Memory and Power. Ethnography and History among an Andean People* (Madison: The university of Wisconsin Press, 1998) 263.

86 Verónica Salles-Reese, *From Viracocha to the Virgin of Copacabana: representation of the sacred at Lake Titicaca* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1997).

87 Estenssoro, *Del Paganismo*, 439–492.

sanctity showed the limits of the tolerated indigenous conversion by Spanish authorities. Nevertheless, parish life, confraternities, and religious institutions offered many indigenous people ways of social and political recognition, essential for their survival in the newly reconfigured context of conquest and colonization. Catholic missions had a different significance in the margins of the Spanish empire, where Jesuits and other regular orders attempted to control unconquered populations in contexts of war and instability. However, indigenous responses to both the mission culture and the process of conversion in the central Andes were similar: from the point of view of the native population they were means to survive in a new context made of colonial pressure and social and political reconfigurations.

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CHAPTER 3

The Missions of Paraguay: Rise, Expansion and Fall

Guillermo Wilde

Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, in a large region of southern South America, the Jesuits developed a missionary program under the protection of the Spanish crown which lasted for one hundred fifty years. Successive generations of missionaries of the order from Europe and Latin American created, in collaboration with local indigenous leaders, dozens of mission towns resettling populations of the most remote regions. The missions of the Jesuit province called *Paracuaria* soon became a refuge for thousands of Indians and eventually acquired a significant degree of economic and political autonomy. Although the aim of the missions, also known as "reducciones", was to spread the gospel among the natives, the Jesuits' enterprise was not exclusively religious but also political and social. Missionaries thought that from their action would emerge a new society among the Indians of the jungle, who would abandon their old customs and adopt the ideals of Christian civility.

In the last three centuries, the view of the Jesuit missions of Paraguay has been marked by a series of ideological, geographical and temporal trends which tended to create contradictory images of those spaces. Few historical experiences have had such an impact on modern literary imagination on both sides of the Atlantic. While some writers considered the missions as the realization of classical utopias of good governance, others saw them as another chapter of the "black legend" perpetrated by the Spaniards in the New World. Numerous Jesuits' letters and reports and some non-Jesuit works like *Il Cristianesimo Felice* (1743) by the Italian Ludovico Muratori, represented an apologetic perspective praising the missions past. Even some anticlerical intellectuals considered the missions a commendable experiment. In his celebrated book *The Spirit of the Laws* (1757), Montesquieu referred to the missions of Paraguay as an example of good governance, in which the Jesuits had managed to unite religion and humanity, bringing "scattered people" of the jungle the benefits of civility.[1] The defense of missions would continue even after the expulsion

1 Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois,* Paris, 1757, parte 1, libro IV, capítulo VI. On the place of the missions of Paraguay in the modern thought see Arno Alvarez Kern, *Missões, uma utopia politica*, Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, 1982; Stelio Cro, "Muratori, Charlevoix, Montesquieu, and Voltaire: four views of the Holy Guarani Republic", *Dieciocho* 14, 1–2

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of the order, in the hands of the exiled Jesuits in Italy. One of them, the Catalan José Manuel Peramás, wrote a striking text called *Plato's Republic and the Guarani*, in which he compared, one by one the traits of the Paraguay missions with the ideal government described by the master of classical antiquity.[2]

The abundant literature on the missions of the eighteenth century also had exponents of *anti-Jesuitism*, which began to take hold in Europe in clear opposition to the power the Society of Jesus had acquired in earlier centuries. Iberian Enlightenment figures, such as the Marquis of Pombal of Portugal and the secretary Rodriguez de Campomanes of Spain, strongly attacked the Jesuits. Both insisted on the danger of Jesuit ambitions of creating a state within a state that endangered the monarchy. Their position was strongly influenced by a renegade former Jesuit, Bernardo Ibañez Echavarri, who wrote *El Reino Jesuítico* (1762). In this book, which appeared almost simultaneously in Spanish and Portuguese versions, Ibañez argued that the Jesuits had established an independent political organization in Paraguay that promoted the sedition of the Indians against the Iberian crowns. The proof of this was a conflict triggered some years earlier in which the Indians rebelled against the execution of a border treaty signed by Spain and Portugal. Diverse gazettes of the period spread the rumor that the Jesuits had anointed a Paraguayan king named Nicolas I, whose effigy was minted into coins that circulated throughout the region.[3]

During nineteenth century, disputes around the nature of the missions' government continued. Various exponents of the Romantic Movement would claim the missions as the realization of a utopian society and argued that European society should follow suit. In 1887, the German Eberhard Gothein

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(1991), pp. 113–123; Stelio Cro, "Empirical and Practical Utopia in Paraguay". *Dieciocho* 15, 1–2 (1992), pp. 171–184; Girolamo Imbruglia, *L'invenzione del Paraguay: studio sull'idea di comunità tra Seicento e Settecento*, Napoli: Bibliopolis, 1987; Manuel Marzal, *La utopía posible: indios y jesuitas en la América colonial* (*1549–1767*), Lima, 1992, 2 volumenes; Alberto Armani, "Philosophers´ dreams and historical reality in the Jesuit "State" of Paraguay (XVII and XVIII centuries)". *Paraguay. Referate des 6. interdisziplinären Kolloquiums der Sektion Lateinamerika des Zentralinstituts 06*. München, 1984; Magnus Mörner, "Del Estado jesuítico del Paraguay al régimen colonial guaraní misionero: un proceso de "normalización" historiográfica desde los años 1950". *Actas de las VII Jornadas Internacionales sobre las Misiones jesuíticas*. Resistencia (Chaco), 1998.

2 Peramás, José Manuel. *La república de Platón y los guaraníes*. Emece Editores. Buenos Aires. 1946 [1793], p. 86.

3 According to the German historian Felix Becker, the story about the supposed King circulated throughout Europe in many translations. Felix Becker, *Un mito jesuítico: Nicolás I Rey del Paraguay*, Asunción, 1987.

published *Der Staat der Christlichsoziale Jesuiten*, trying to confront Paraguay Guarani Jesuit experience with Tomaso Campanella's *Città Solis*. Some years later the missions inspired *A Vanished Arcadia,* an account by the Scottish writer Cunningham Graham entirely devoted to vindicating the work of the Jesuits in Paraguay. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Argentinian Leopoldo Lugones wrote *El Imperio Jesuítico* that clearly condemned the Jesuits. Some years before the Paraguayan intellectual Blas Garay had published a pamphlet entitled *El comunismo en las Misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en Paraguay*, in which he depicted the Jesuit regime as a totalitarian one and the legacy of missions as a very negative element of the nation's past.[4] The debate continued for several decades. In 1926, the German Fassbinder published *Der Jesuitenstaat in Paraguay* and in 1941 the Austrian Fritz Hochwaelder's *Das Heilige Experiment* appeared; both of these works took an apologetic tone. In the context of the Second World War the Swiss religious Clovis Lugon published the work *La République chrétienne -communiste des Guaranis* (*1609–1768*).[5]

Beyond the ideological biases for or against the Jesuits that appeared in all this literature, a common portrait of the missions as an isolated, homogeneous and coherent political-religious organization, a Theocracy, in which indigenous people passively accepted the imposition of European civilizational project, prevailed. Different expressions of national historiographies of the early twentieth century tended to reproduce these biased perspectives and also introduced geographical units that corresponded to national boundaries, thus decomposing the complex territorial dynamics of the colonial period.[6] Recent research has seriously questioned these assumptions and trends, regarding them as overly simplistic; they responded more to the ideological projections of their promoters than to a rigorous work on the sources of the time.

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4 The text of Garay was actually the preface for a new edition of the *History of the missions of Paraguay* by the Jesuit Nicolas del Techo (written in 1687).

5 Both historiography and fiction on the missions does not end here. In 1975, Philip Caraman published *The Lost Paradise. The Jesuit Republic in South America*. In 1986, it was released the well-known film *The mission* by Roland Joffé. In addition, philosopher Michel Foucault referred to the missions as "heterotopies".

6 The ancient territory of the missions of Paraguay coincides with the current borderland of Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Bolivia. These countries conserve mission's ruins in the list of the UNESCO Universal Heritage. During the 20th century, some historians of each of these countries proposed a nationalist appropriation of the missions. One representative case is the Argentinian Jesuit historian Guillermo Furlong, who published numerous essays and books devoted to the missions, explicitly oriented to vindicate the Jesuits as formers of the Argentinian cultural identity.

Since the 1970s, new historiographic currents have sought to reintegrate the missions of Paraguay into regional and global networks, reconstructing the economic and political connections among different types of Jesuit establishments. Pioneering work of Magnus Mörner, Juan Carlos Garavaglia and Nicolas Cushner highlighted the role of the missions of Paraguay in the regional, continental and Atlantic economy controlled by the Spanish crown.[7] Another important historiographic trend since the 80`s has been demography, which contributed to better understanding the social dynamics of the missions during more than 150 years also giving explanations for the passage from the ancient indigenous social organization to the missions villages structure. The most important production on this belongs to the passed away researcher Ernesto Maeder.[8] Historical archaeology and architecture have also had an important place in the study of the configuration of Jesuit Missions spatiality. The works by Arno Alvarez Kern, Ramón Gutierrez and more recently Artur Barcelos have illuminated different aspects of the missions territorial organization, material culture and artistic styles both at the local and regional levels.[9]

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7 Mörner, Magnus. *Actividades políticas y económicas de los jesuitas en el Río de la Plata*. Buenos Aires: Hyspamerica, 1985; Garavaglia, Juan Carlos. *Mercado interno y economía colonial. Tres siglos de la yerba mate*. México: Gedisa, 1983. Cushner, Nicholas. *Jesuit Ranches and the Agrarian Development of Colonial Argentina, 1650–1767*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983. See also Carbonell de Masy, Rafael. *Estrategias De Desarrollo Rural En Los Pueblos Guaraníes (1609–1767)*. 1. ed, Monografías Economía Quinto Centenario. Barcelona: A. Bosch: Sociedad Estatal Quinto Centenario: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1992.

8 Maeder, Ernesto. *Misiones del Paraguay: conflictos y disolución de la sociedad guarani (1768–1850)*. Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992. Jackson, Robert H. *Demographic Change and Ethnic Survival among the Sedentary Populations in the Jesuit Mission Frontiers of Spanish South America, 1609–1803 the Formation and Persistence of Mission Communities in a Comparative Context*, European Expansion and Indigenous Response,. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015. Takeda, Kazuhiza. "Cambio y continuidad del liderazgo indígena en el cacicazgo y en la milicia de las misiones jesuíticas: Análisis cualitativos de las listas de indios guaraníes." *Tellus* 12, no. 23 (2012): 59–79.

9 Alvarez Kern, Arno. "O Processo Histórico Platino No Seculo XVII: Da Aldeia Guarani Ao Povoado Missioneiro." *Estudos Ibero-Americanos* XI, no. 1 (1985): 23–41. Gutiérrez, Ramón. "Estructura Sociopolítica, Sistema Productivo Y Resultante Espacial En Las Misiones Jesuíticas Del Paraguay Y Durante El Siglo XVIII." *Estudios paraguayos* II, no. 2 (1974): 83–140. Barcelos, Artur H. F. *Espaço & Arqueologia Nas Missões Jesuíticas: O Caso De São João Batista*, Coleção Arqueologia 7. Porto Alegre: EDIPUCRS, 2000. See also Sustersic, Bozidar D. *Templos Jesuítico-Guaraníes*. Buenos Aires: Instituto de Teoría e Historia del Arte "Julio E. Payró". Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1999. Levinton, Norberto. *La Arquitectura Jesuítico-Guaraní. Una Experiencia De Interacción Cultural*. Buenos Aires: Editorial SB, 2008.

From the 1990s forward, the discovery of new primary sources and the development of new critical approaches produced an interpretative turn that highlighted the importance of the cultural dimension and of indigenous agency. Studies on the role of the Society of Jesus in the expansion of the Iberian empires and in the worldwide dissemination of the arts and sciences acquired particular relevance for this turn.[10] Also did ethno-histories concerned with the interactions between priests and indigenous peoples in local missionary contexts. Some studies have emphasized the role of indigenous elites in the government of missions and the complex relations they established with the Jesuits over the long term.[11] Of particular interest has been

10 The subject of the missions, the expansion of the Iberian Empires, and the circulation of knowledge has been the object of some important works in the last twenty years. Among the most representative including essays on the Jesuit missions of Paraguay are celebrated research volumes like Castelnau-L'Estoile, Charlotte de, Marie L. Copete, Aliocha Maldavsky, and Ines G. Zupanov, eds. *Missions D'Évangelisation Et Circulation Des Savoirs* (*XVIE-XVIIIE Siècle*). Madrid-Paris: Casa de Velasquez-EHESS, 2011. Wilde, Guillermo. *Saberes de la conversión: Jesuitas, Indígenas e Imperios Coloniales en las Fronteras de la Cristiandad*. Buenos Aires: Editrial SB, 2011. Coello, Alexandre, Javier Burrieza, and Doris Moreno. *Jesuitas E Imperios De Ultramar. Siglos XVI-XX*. Madrid: Sílex Ediciones, 2012. For an approach to the Globlal Jesuit networks see Alden, Dauril. *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996. More recently: Clossey, Luke. *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Friedrich, Markus. "Communication and Bureaucracy in the Early Modern Society of Jesus." *Scweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions und Kulturgeschichte* 101 (2007): 49–75. Friedrich, Markus. "Government and Information-Management in Early Modern Europe. The Case of the Society of Jesus (1540–1773)." *Journal of Early Modern History* 12 (2008): 539–63. Friedrich, Markus. *Der Lange Arm Roms? Globale Verwaltung Und Kommunikation Im Jesuitenorden 1540–1773*. Frankfurt-New York: Campus, 2011.

11 The classical ethnohistorical perspective on the guarani is represented by the work of Branislava Susnik. Susnik, Branislava. *El Indio Colonial Del Paraguay Ii: Los Trece Pueblos Guaraníes De Las Misiones* (*1767–1803*). Asunción: Museo Etnográfico "Andrés Barbero", 1966. From the 2000's many new studies based on the analysis of indigenous sources came out. Ganson, Barbara Anne. *The Guaraní under Spanish Rule in the Río De La Plata*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003. Wilde, Guillermo. *Religión y Poder en las Misiones Guaraníes*. Buenos Aires: Editorial SB, 2009. On the economy and population of the missions see especially Sarreal, Julia J. S. *The Guaraní and Their Missions: A Socioeconomic History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014. Telesca, Ignacio. *Tras Los Expulsos: Cambios Demográficos Y Territoriales En El Paraguay Después De La Expulsión De Los Jesuitas*, Biblioteca De Estudios Paraguayos. Asunción, Paraguay: Universidad Católica

language and written culture in the missions. On this, the precursor work by Bartomeu Melià has been continued by Eduardo Neumann, who has located and classified a great amount of documents written by the Indians in their language.[12]

In spite of the increasing interest in both the local and the global, both levels of analysis of missionary activity have not been sufficiently placed in dialogue until recently.[13] This comparative aspect will certainly be at the core of the research agenda in the future years.

The recent turn has revealed at least three dimensions of analysis that so far remain unexplored. The first is the inclusion of the missions of Paraguay in the wider (regional and global) framework of political, economic and cultural networks, highlighting the fact that they were part of a network of establishments under the control of the Spanish crown.[14] The second is the complexity

"Nuestra Señora de la Asunción", 2009. Comparable analysis for the missions of Chiquitos can be found in Tomichá Charupá, Roberto. *La Primera Evangelización en las reducciones de Chiquitos, Bolivia, 1691–1767: protagonistas y metodología misional.* Cochabamba: Editorial Verbo Divino, 2002.

12 Meliá, Bartomeu. *La lengua guaraní en el Paraguay Colonial. La creación de un lenguaje cristiano en las reducciones de los guaraníes en el Paraguay*. Asunción: CEPAG, 2003. Neumann, Eduardo. *Letra De Indio. Cultura escrita, comunicação e memória indígena nas reduções do Paraguai*. São Bernardo do Campo: Nhanduti, 2015.

13 There are few exceptions for this. For example: Santamaría, Daniel J. *Del Tabaco Al Incienso: Reducción Y Conversión En Las Misiones Jesuitas De Las Selvas Sudamericanas Siglos XVII y XVIII*. San Salvador de Jujuy, Argentina: CEIC, Centro de Estudios Indígenas y Coloniales, Departamento Editorial, 1994. Radding, Cynthia. *Landscapes of Power and Identity: Comparative Histories in the Sonoran Desert and the Forests of Amazonia from Colony to Republic*. Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005. Alvarez Kern, Arno, and Robert H. Jackson. *Missoes Ibéricas Coloniais: Da Califórnia Ao Prata*. Porto Alegre: Palier, 2006. Saito, Akira y Claudia Rosas Lauro (eds.). *Reducciones. La concentración forzada de las poblaciones indígenas en el Virreinato del Perú*. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú/National Museum of Ethnology, 2017. See also the recent book by Fabian Fechner on the Jesuits administration. Fechner, Fabian. *Entscheidungsprozesse Vor Ort. Die Provinzkongregationen Der Jesuiten in Paraguay (1608–1762)*. Regensburg: Verlag Schnell & Steiner GmbH, 2015.

14 Magnus Mörner, *Actividades políticas y económicas de los jesuitas en el Río de la Plata*, Buenos Aires, 1985; Juan Carlos Garavaglia, *Mercado interno y economía colonial. Tres siglos de la yerba mate*, México, 1983. See in particular Maeder, Ernesto. *Misiones del Paraguay: conflictos y disolución de la sociedad guarani* (1768–1850). Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992.

and contradictions of the Jesuit missions' regime, which had to adapt to local conditions and to the circumstances of interaction with indigenous peoples and other actors of colonial society.[15] The third is the participation of indigenous actors in the formation of the missions. Indigenous elites in particular played an active role in the government of missions.[16] These dimensions have enabled the reconstruction of a more complex picture of the missions, relativizing old assumptions about the origin and characteristics of their social organization.

This chapter explores some elements in the light of new sources and approaches. The first two sections discuss the impact of missionaries' action on the indigenous societies and the way they reacted. The following section analyzes the consolidation of the missions' system at the regional and global level, taking into account indigenous participation in their government and Jesuits mechanisms of control. The last section describes the process of dissolution of the missions during the decades that followed the Jesuits' expulsion.

On the one hand, I intend to connect the local with the regional and global levels. On the other, I consider both Jesuit and the post-Jesuit periods, identifying ruptures and continuities. My argument is, first, that this process contributed to the formation of new indigenous identities linked to missionary organization. Second, that the missions were part of a network of establishments whose administration responded to a decentralized policy which manifested a significant degree of internal tension arising from the difficulty of taking decisions on practical matters related to daily contact with the Indians. Third, that Indian agency not only manifested in the form of an open resistance but also in the definition of spaces of autonomy in which the Indians, particularly the members of the elite, adopted the mission system of government as their own.

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15 For an approach to the Globlal Jesuit networks see Alden, Dauril. *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996. More recently: Clossey, Luke. *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Friedrich, Markus. *Der Lange Arm Roms? Globale Verwaltung Und Kommunikation Im Jesuitenorden 1540–1773*. Frankfurt-New York: Campus, 2011.

16 Ganson, Barbara Anne. *The Guaraní under Spanish Rule in the Río De La Plata*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003. Wilde, Guillermo. *Religión y Poder en las Misiones Guaraníes*. Buenos Aires: Editorial SB, 2009.

Mission Ethnogenesis

Although they arrived in the region of Paraguay by the end of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits did not found stable indigenous mission towns until the local and international political conditions were favorable. The unification of the Iberian crowns between 1580 and 1640 provided ideal conditions for the first foundations.[17] Two crucial circumstances were the policies introduced by the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in Peru from 1570, which quickly spread to areas less controlled by the Spanish crown, and the realization of the Third Council of Lima (1582–1583), which laid the basis for the work of evangelization throughout the region. Upon their arrival at Paraguay, the Ignatians had already tested doctrines of management in the Viceroyalty of Peru, such as Huarochiri, El Cercado and Juli.[18] In the early stages, they also counted on the presence of Jesuits coming from the province of Brazil, who had developed from decades before activities in towns called *aldeias* and were proficient in certain variants of the Tupi-Guarani language, mostly spoken in the region of Paraguay.[19] In addition, the Franciscans were active in the region for some years before the arrival of the Jesuits and had designed a program for Indian villages,

17 This aspect requires a more in depth analysis since, as recently Herzog has pointed out, times of peace frequently implied higher levels of transgression of pre-established agreements. The region of the missions was located in a traditionally disputed territory between the Iberian crowns. Herzog, Tamar. *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015.

18 Xavier Albó, "Jesuitas y Culturas indígenas. Perú 1568–1606. Su actitud, métodos y criterios de aculturación (primera parte", *América Indígena* XXVI, 3 (1966), pp. 251–308. The discusion on the background of Guarani model has emphasized especially the case of the Juli doctrines in the Andean region of Titicaca Lake, where some Jesuits of Paraguay first dealt with the Indians. On this see Norman Meiklejohn, "Una experiencia de evangelización en los Andes. Los jesuitas en Juli (Perú). Siglos XVII-XVIII", *Cuadernos para la historia de la evangelización en América Latina* 1 (1986), pp. 109–185; Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, "La doctrina de Juli a debate (1575–1585)", *Revista de Estudios Extremeños* LXIII, 2 (2007), pp. 951–990. Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, *El pregonero de Dios. Diego Martínez, SJ, misionero jesuita del Perú Colonial (1543–1626)*, Valladolid, 2010.

19 The Brazilian and the Peruvian provinces of the Society of Jesus had jurisdiction conflicts about which one would assume the control of the Paraguayan region. General Claudio Acquaviva finally decided to create a new province under the control of the Peruvian Jesuits. On this see Maldavsky, Aliocha, *Vocaciones inciertas. Misión y misioneros en la provincia jesuita del Perú en los siglos XVI y XVII*. Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2012. Also, Morales, Martín. "Los comienzos de las reducciones de la Provincia del Paraguay en relación con el Derecho Indiano y el Instituto de la Compañía de Jesús." *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* LXVII (1998): 3–129.

linked to the encomienda system, an institution early installed in the region.[20] The Franciscans were the authors of the first translations of religious texts into Guarani, such as the catechism, widely used by the Jesuits upon arrival. The Superior General Claudio Acquaviva decided to form an independent province in 1607, bringing together various jurisdictions that formed the *Gobernación* of Rio de la Plata and were part of the southern region of the Viceroyalty of Peru. Among the most important of these were Cordoba del Tucuman, Santiago de Chile, Buenos Aires and Asuncion.

During the seventeenth century the Jesuits explored several different regions, searching for Indians who had not had contacts with the Europeans before. In the Guayrá, the Itatín, the Tape, the Iguazu-Acaray and the Parana, they founded many mission villages, most of which had a very ephemeral life.[21] The action of the missionaries unfolded in a very hostile local context. A first factor of adversity was the settlers of the city of Asuncion and other villages of the region that benefited from the encomienda system. This Spanish colonial institution promoted the particular service of the Indians to the Christian settlers in exchange for religious care and basic maintenance. Most of the indigenous population was distributed in *encomiendas* and lived under very harsh conditions, which caused a demographic collapse in the period that followed the conquest of Paraguay. This situation forced the Spanish crown to intervene with policies of protection for the Indians. The economy in this marginal area of the Hispanic domains depended almost exclusively on the exploitation of indigenous labor in the extraction of yerba maté, a product traded across the Rio de la Plata and the Viceroyalty of Peru. Settlers were strongly opposed to the creation of mission towns that were not under their direct control.

A second factor of adversity was the presence of large groups of Indians generically known as "guaycurúes" that had rejected the Christian conversion and constantly threatened to invade the missions and the Spanish villages of the region. Jesuit attempts to convert these populations roundly failed. The Guaycurú were nomads, practicing hunting, gathering and making war, and they did not accept under any circumstances the resettlement policy. Perhaps most importantly, a crucial factor in determining the final shape of the missions was the attack of the *Bandeirantes*, settlers from the city of São Paulo

20 Louis Necker, *Indios guaraníes y chamanes franciscanos*. Las primeras reducciones del Paraguay (1580–1800), Asunción, 1990.

21 The first Provincial Father of Paraguay, Diego de Torres Bollo, ordered the exploration of the regions of Guayrá, Paraná and Guaycurús. He wrote precise instructions to the missionaries in 1609 y 1610 on how to build up a mission town and take care of all its aspects. Morales, "Los comienzos *de las reducciones*".

who raided the hinterland to capture and enslave Indians and transport them to the Brazilian coast. In the single decade of the 1630s, the *bandeirantes* destroyed most of the missions created in the first stage of Jesuit expansion. These circumstances forced the Jesuits to relocate most of the missions many kilometers south, into the safer region of the Parana and Uruguay rivers where they had already founded some villages. With the agreement of indigenous chiefs, Jesuits prompted the migration of thousands of Indians, many of whom died on the way.

A direct consequence of this process was the fragmentation of indigenous territory and population. The concentration of diverse populations in the same town of a single mission often involved the loss of previous political, cultural and linguistic practices. One of the biggest problems missionaries had to deal with was the understanding of indigenous languages. Although most of the population living in the region spoke the Guarani language, there were many variants of it, and some indigenous groups incorporated into the missions ignored it completely. This forced the missionaries to standardize the use of a single language through the creation of grammars, vocabularies and catechisms of daily use in missions. The work of the Jesuit Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, published in 1639, was fundamental in this regard, as it served as an instrument of communication for religious missions for over a century.[22]

The Jesuits produced peculiar classifications for designating the indigenous peoples that they took in charge or that they intended to convert. Jesuit anthropology was oriented to designate "nations" that spoke a certain language and the priests set their mission boundaries according to indigenous groups' religious, political and cultural traits, and the territory they inhabited.[23] Although the Jesuits themselves acknowledged an enormous degree of linguistic and cultural diversity in their first contacts, the consolidation of the mission system ended up producing a homogenization of the population, at least in official records. Through the precise definition of the names and identities of

22 Ruiz de Montoya published his *Vocabulario, Tesoro, Arte y Catecismo de la lengua guaraní* in Madrid, during a trip as Procurator of Paraguay. Montoya's work was updated in the 18th century by Jesuit Paulo Restivo, who was in charge of the Mission Printing Press. Wilde, Guillermo. "Global Patterns and Local Adaptations: A Typology of Jesuit Books of the Guarani Missions and their Circulation in South-America". *Legacies of the Book: Early Missionary Printing in Asia and the Americas*. Ücerler, Antoni & Xaoxing Wu (Eds.). Leiden: Brill (in press).

23 Wilde, Guillermo. "Writing Rites in the South American Borderlands". *The Rites Controversy in the Early Modern World*. Ines G. Zupanov and Pierre-Antoine Fabre (eds.). Leiden: Brill (in press).

the people who lived inside and outside the missions, the Jesuits both made invisible the diversity they found and created new differences that were not so evident at the beginnings of missionary activity. These classifications played a key role in the constituency of local indigenous ethnicity and the creation of a colonial geography.

The Jesuits also sought to control the population's heterogeneity through the introduction of a uniform management and a set of governance parameters in the missions. In addition to promoting the education of the Indians, especially those considered "more capable," they installed municipal councils, taught crafts and formed indigenous militias to defend the missions. Moreover, they introduced forms of worship and liturgical practices gradually adopted by the Indians. The standardization of urban structure and daily routine common to all mission towns assured an efficient administration and government. All these elements contributed to the mission ethnogenesis and the acquisition of an increasing degree of autonomy of the missions' regime.

The Missioned Societies

Before their incorporation to mission towns, indigenous populations lived in autonomous communities spread throughout the jungle. The extended family called *teyÿ* was the basis of their social organization, which counted more than 200 people that lived together in large houses or *malocas* under the influence of a leader, with whom the members of the group maintained kinship relationships. Such societies subsisted on agriculture, according to the system of slash and burn, occasionally combined with hunting and gathering activities. Such groups often alternated moments of peace and conflict, which redefined their social ties and networks of power. Polygamy was an important element of these societies and the prestige of chiefs frequently depended on it, as long as it allowed him to extend their networks throughout the region. The chief's reputation also depended upon his ability to make war and to speak to the crowd and he was in constant competition with other leaders inside and outside the group.

The Jesuits peacefully approached to these leaders, aiming to persuade them to abandon their *malocas* in the jungle and move to mission towns, where they would have basic living conditions assured, plus some privileges, in exchange for becoming Christians. The first approaches to indigenous fostered reciprocity and exchange of gifts. The "policy of presents" was certainly one of the most effective strategies. The Indians had discovered the superiority of metal over stone and coveted tools such as knives and axes of iron that

they could only obtain through the exchange with the colonizers. In 1627, the Jesuit Claudio Ruyer writes that gifts such as wedges, knives, hooks, pins and other similar items were very effective tools to attract Indians. Jesuits also distributed a quantity of wool for women to weave their clothes.[24] Food was also included in the exchanges, especially yerba maté and, later, cattle meat, whose consumption would become the favorite of the Guarani. After a first phase of objects exchange, Jesuits sealed a pact by delivering power batons to the main caciques. Finally, if the chiefs were sufficiently prepared, they received baptism and a Christian name with it. These actions implied a permanent contract with the mission space, at least from the standpoint of the Jesuits.

Attraction techniques diversified over time. In 1687, Jesuit Jarque refers to three common procedures to bring neophytes to the missions. One consisted on the payment of ransoms to the "infidel" Indians in exchange for Christian Indians they had as prisoners. Another was to send devout Christian Indians on expeditions to unknown indigenous lands to convince the "infidels" to accept the Christian faith in their own language. Finally, another method was to send a priest escorted by armed groups to contact remote groups. This method seems to have been used when there was interest to convert prestigious figures that ensured the entry of a greater number of newcomers to the reductions.[25]

The missions involved a profound disruption of the traditional indigenous organization. Extended families were the most affected. According to the information provided by the Jesuits, missions were created with around thirty chiefs, who became known as "*caciques*", and the group of his followers and direct relatives (the "*cacicazgo*"). Incorporated chiefdoms rarely exceeded one hundred people, which indicates that older units were fragmented and mixed in the conversion process. With their incorporation to the missions, *caciques* received houses to inhabit and lands to work, according to the dimensions of their *cacicazgos*.[26]

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24 Ruyer, Claudio. "Carta annua de la Reducción de Santa Maria del Iguazú, para el P. Nicolás Duran provincial del Paraguay de la Compañía de Jesús, Santa María del Iguazú, 9 de noviembre de 1627". *Revista del Archivo General de Buenos Aires*, Tomo 1 (Buenos Aires: Imprenta del "Porvenir"), p. 173.

25 Jarque, Francisco. *Insignes misioneros de la Conpañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay* Pamplona: Joan Micoan, 1687.

26 Takeda, Kazuhiza. "Cambio y continuidad del liderazgo indígena en el Cacicazgo y en la milicia de las Misiones Jesuíticas: Análisis cualitativos de las listas de indios guaraníes." *Tellus* 12, no. 23 (2012): 59–79. Sarreal, Julia. "Caciques as Placeholders in the Guaraní Missions of Eighteenth Century Paraguay." *Colonial Latin American Review* 23, no. 2 (2014): 224–51.

Polygamy was the indigenous practice that cased the most setbacks to the missionaries. This was a fundamental practice in building the native power, widespread among the chiefs, who strongly opposed to its eradication. Although the Jesuits appeared to control the problem, they always referred to the reactions generated by forcing the Indians to live with only one woman.[27] The struggle against polygamy transformed the Jesuits into real threats to the old way of life. In fact, missionaries' opposition to polygamy occasioned a good number of indigenous uprisings against the missions´ regime. In the early stages of evangelization, the Jesuits failed to fully control polygamy and they eventually agreed to accept it among the leaders, hoping that over time they would abandon it.[28]

Shamans' Power

The attitude of the indigenous leaders towards the Jesuits varied greatly, depending on the conditions of interaction. In general, the Indians tried to retain, as long as they could, a significant margin of political autonomy. In other cases, they sought an alliance with the missionaries to obtain some sort of advantage. Some indigenous leaders were also highly respected as shamans. They not only opposed the creation of missions but also fought bitterly against the Jesuits, considering them dangerous competitors. Whenever they could, shamans unloaded all their fury against Christian symbols and gestures. Stories about them are abundantly documented in Jesuit sources of early phases. The Jesuit Mastrilli Duran refers to a "sorcerer" who took a painted image of the virgin and ripped it with his hands, mocking the Jesuits for worshiping painted images.[29] The aforementioned Jesuit Ruiz de Montoya refers to Guiraverá, one of the most famous cannibal Indians of the Guayrá region, who arrogated himself as the author of natural events of the past and threatened to cause others in the future to favor only their friends and followers. One day he entered

27 Blanco, José M. *Historia documentada de la vida y gloriosa muerte de los padres Roque Goinzalez de Santa Cruz, Alonso Rodríguez y Juan del Castillo*. Buenos Aires: Sebastián Amorrortu, 1929, p. 671.

28 Del Techo, Nicolás. *Historia de la Provincia del Paraguay de la Compañía de Jesús*, versión del texto latino por Manuel Serrano y Sanz. Nueva edición, Prólogo de Bartomeu Melià, S. J. Asunción: CEPAG/FONDEC, [1673] 2005.

29 Cortesão, Jaime. *Manuscritos Da Coleção De Angelis. I. Jesuítas E Bandeirantes No Guairá* (*1549* [*I.E. 1594*]-*1640*). Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Obras Raras e Publicações, 1951, p. 248 y 251.

the mission town accompanied by numerous Indians armed with bows and arrows and several women, wearing overlapped robes mimicking Christian prelates, and giving blessings.[30] Several decades later Anton Sepp alludes to a certain shaman Jaguareté (which means literally true Jaguar), "the supreme head of the heathen" who, using a chalice as a glass, mocked Christians by saying: "Here I have in my hands the golden pot of your priests in which they put all their hopes. It serves my purpose: I will use it from now on as my glass." Then he took the priest's stole and tying it on his head, said: "It will serve me as my forehead ornament!"[31]

One of the most resonant uprisings occurring in the missions was commanded by chief Ñeezú, who had rejected all attempts of conversion, becoming known as the instigator of the famous martyrdom of Jesuits Roque González, Alonso Rodríguez and Juan del Castillo. Ñeezú had brought together several rebel Indians and persuaded them to kill the Jesuits and to destroy all the ornaments of the churches.[32] Wearing one of the dead missionaries' robes and walked out in front of the people, the chief brought before him baptized children and scraped their tongues and chest, symbolizing the erasure of the baptism. Then he gave "gentile names" to the children saying: "This is our perfect law, not the one these priests teach."[33] Then Ñeezú told them he was a god capable of favoring those who assisted him and destroying those who defended the Jesuits by sending them tigers and producing floods, among other fatalities.

These manifestations of open resistance multiplied in the early years of the missions. They not only demonstrate the opposition of the shamans to evangelization, but also show the indigenous elites' ability to incorporate certain Christian symbols and ritual gestures and use them against the Jesuit priests.

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30 Ruiz de Montoya, Antonio. *Apología en defensa de la Doctrina cristiana escrita en lengua guaraní (1651)*. Asunción: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica, Centro de Estudios Paraguayos "Antonio Guasch", Escuela Superior de Pedagogía, Filosofía y Letras "Antonio Ruiz de Montoya", 1996, p. 101. See also Ruiz de Montoya, Antonio [1639] 1989 *La Conquista espiritual del Paraguay*. Rosario. Equipo Difusor de Estudios de Historia Iberoamericana.

31 Sepp, Anton [1709] 1973 *Continuación de las labores apostólicas*. Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, p. 278.

32 Ferrufino, Juan Bautista. *Relacion del martirio de los padres Roque Gonzalez de Santacruz, Alonso Rodriguez, Juan del Castillo, de la Compañía de Jesus padecido en el Paraguay*. A 16 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1628. Madrid.

33 Blanco, *Historia documentada*, p. 52.

Shamans appear in the sources as incarnations of the ancient self, inciting the Indians to revolt against the life of the mission. They promoted the destruction, inversion or mockery of Christian symbols and the continuation of ancient songs and dances. The Jesuits described shamans as skilled "imitators of voices and animals bellowing," because they mimicked them, using their skins and eating human flesh, while threatening to kill Christians. Some of these leaders even called themselves gods, protesting that the Jesuits were liars that had to be eliminated. The forest was their refuge and many were hiding there to continue their ancient religious practices. Although in many cases the "sorcerers", as they were also called, accepted relocating to live in towns, nothing ensured that even after baptized they would not maintain their traditional practices, make uprisings or even flee the missions. It seems that the Christian life did not necessarily mean to them the abandonment of their old beliefs. In many cases it was instead a way to acquire new elements that gave them legitimacy and effectiveness in their appeal to their followers.

The Jesuits provided benefits to the indigenous leaders that entry into the missions. One was to grant positions and jobs in the government of the missions. Some of them were especially selected for jobs in the church, as collaborators of the priests in liturgical activities. With the consolidation of the missionary regime, especially during the eighteenth century, within the same Indian elite a distinct layer of officials linked to the local council (*corregidor, secretario, alcaldes, mayordomo*, among others) and to church activities and Christian liturgy (sacristans, musicians, scribes, choirmasters, and congregants) was formed, most of whom mastered writing and some basic liturgical and sacramental activities. They learned to read and write, distinguishing themselves from the rest of the population. This indigenous caste, loyal to the Jesuits, gradually displaced the traditional leaders.[34]

Indios Letrados

The priests selected the most talented candidates for the mission schools, arts and crafts, initially recruiting students among the sons of the *caciques*.[35]

34 Eduardo Neumann, "Mientras volaban correos por los pueblos": autogoverno e práticas letradas nas missões guaranis – século XVIII. *Horizontes antropológicos* 22 (2004): 67–92. Eduardo Neumann, "Escribiendo en la frontera del Paraguay: prácticas de la escritura guaraní durante la demarcación de límites (siglo XVIII)". *Cultura Escrita & Sociedad* 7 (2008): 159–190. Eduardo Neumann, "A escrita dos guaranis nas reduções: usos e funções das formas textuais indígenas. Século XVIII". *Topoi* 8, 15 (2007): 48–79.

35 Hernández, Pablo. *Organización social de las doctrinas guaraníes da la Compañía de Jesús* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1913. t. 1) p. 93.

Alphabetic knowledge was a particular skill of the Indians that collaborated with the priests at the church, musicians and "choirmasters" among them.[36]

Writing was a completely new technology for the Guarani. After years of preparation, lettered Indians were able to do translations, adaptations and copies of religious texts. Through these activities, they systematically reinvented and recreated their language.[37] In the eighteenth century, the alphabetic culture rapidly developed and expanded in the missions, and it is possible to find evidence of an increasing indigenous autonomy in the exercise of the practice of writing. The Indians collaborated with the priests in the creation of vocabularies, catechisms and grammars. Some members of the elite were even able to write devotional books, mostly with a liturgical or pastoral purpose. Jesuit Francisco Jarque reports that there was a chief in the mission of Loreto who composed "talks and sermons in their language" and, once he wrote the sermons, he offered the texts to the priests.[38] Jesuit Peramás also provides other notable examples of Indians capable of not only writing sermons but also stories of their mission towns. In the first decade of the eighteenth century, a printing press was set up in the missions, where various types of printings were published, most of them in Guarani language. One of them is the translation to the Guarani language of the ascetic-philosophical work *De la Diferencia entre lo Temporal y lo Eterno* by the Jesuit Eusebio Nieremberg, which was accompanied by a number of engravings made by indigenous artists. Two other striking publications are *Sermones y Exemplos* and *Explicación del Catecismo*, by Nicolas Yapuguay, chief and musician from one of the missions.[39]

36 Wilde, Guillermo, "The Sounds of Indigenous Ancestors. Music, Corporality and Memory in the Jesuit Missions of Colonial South America". Hall, Patrica (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Music Censorship*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. [DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199733163.013.32]

37 Bartomeu Meliá, *La lengua Guaraní en el Paraguay colonial. La creación de un lenguaje cristiano en las reducciones de los Guaraníes en el Paraguay* (Asunción: CEPAG, 2003). Indigenous writing was not an exclusive phenomenon of the Guarani missions. It is also possible to find it extended in the regions of Moxos and Chiquitos, funded in the same period in what now are the Low Lands of Bolivia. On the continuity of writing practices in Moxos see especially Akira Saito, "Las misiones y la administración del documento: el caso de Mojos, siglos XVIII-XX". *Senri Ethnological Studies* 68 (2005): 27–72.

38 Jarque, *Insignes misioneros, p. 361*.

39 Wilde, Guillermo (in press) "Global Patterns and Local Adaptations: A Typology of Jesuit Books of the Guarani Missions and their Circulation in South-America". *Legacies of the Book: Early Missionary Printing in Asia and the Americas*. Ücerler, Antoni & Xaoxing Wu (Eds.). Leiden: Brill.

With the passage of time, the indigenous writing was gradually expanding its repertoire of uses, including those of more secular type, including texts like the *Actas de Cabildo* (minutes of the local council) or formal letters to the colonial authorities, which were generally written in the indigenous language and accompanied by a translation into Spanish. There is also evidence of the circulation of texts oriented to secular management tasks such as meal preparation, teaching guidelines of good conduct and education, preparation of medicines with jungle plants, or personal diaries.[40] Most of the texts of the eighteenth century, both handwritten and printed, apparently updated the uses of language from the previous century. According to recent research, these texts oriented to practical life reveal the existence of different registers of language, some of which were apparently beyond the control of the Jesuits, who only monopolized certain forms of religious language. The secular texts incorporated a large amount of hispanisms (Spanish words) linked to the use of outside objects, materials and non-indigenous techniques.

An important part of the indigenous elite was the members of religious confraternities founded in the third decade of the seventeenth century. There were two of them in the missions, one devoted to the Archangel Michael and the other to the Virgin Mary. These religious associations were formed by a prefect, who received the banner of the Virgin, a consultant, a prosecutor, a goalkeeper and nurses. Its members were carefully selected among the most devout Indians of the mission, who were entrusted with certain tasks that required a great amount of confidence on the part of the priests, such as the administration of baptisms or caring for the sick. Singers were especially encouraged to join the confraternities. Its members confessed and took communion more frequently than the rest of the population. Their public behavior served as a vehicle for the reform of indigenous customs, showing other Indians the importance of penance and mortification of the body in daily life. The members of confraternities were also responsible for organizing religious ceremonies and ritual life of the missions. Because of this, it is possible that most of them knew the secrets of reading and writing. In the late eighteenth century, the Jesuit Peramás

40 The so called "Gülich Manuscript", recently found in Germany by Harald Thun and his research team, refers to this kind of daily practices. Written in the way of dialogues, with questions and answers, it seems to have been oriented to the Indians. In 1705, an Indian also wrote a diary in which he narrates the eviction of the Portuguese troops from the Rio de la Plata in a military operation carried out by militias Guarani. There also exists a text of medicine completely written in Guarani. On this corpus see Obermeier, Franz, and Leonardo Cerno. "Nuevos Aportes De La Lingüística Para La Investigación De Documentos Jesuíticos Del Siglo Xviii." *Folia Histórica del Nordeste* 26 (2013): 33–56.

describes an interesting ceremony intended to honor the Virgin's name that seems reasonable to associate with the activity of the confraternities:

> [The Indians] dug into the center of the square insignia and the banner of the Virgin, and carrying shields with the letters of the name of Mary they combined them, evolving in different ways, until gradually placed in order, so that the public could read simultaneously the sweet name of the Queen of Heaven. Bending their knees and nodding to the beat, the actors of this play remained prostrate before a sacred image of the Virgin, prepared in advance for this purpose.[41]

Urban Structure and Daily Routine

The missions have been generally regarded as establishments belonging to "rural areas". However, we can fairly consider them as true cities from political, economic and demographic points of view. Many thousands of Indians dwelled in the missions having a centralized and relatively autonomous political and economic administration.

In the 1680s, the missions consolidated and expanded. The creation of indigenous militias helped to control the *bandeirantes* attacks and to achieve a strong defense of the missions. The Jesuits created new missions in this period. At the beginning of eighteenth century, there were thirty mission towns permanently established in the Guarani region. The Jesuits also created farm ranches (*estancias*) to supply cattle to all the missions. This was one of the most prosperous periods of the missions' history, characterized by a considerable increase in the population. In the early decades of eighteenth century, the population reached 140,000 people. This situation made necessary the planning of a stable urban organization and the development of more efficient techniques of food production and storage.

The urban structure of the Guarani missions consisted of a series of common elements. A large plaza was located in the very center of the mission town

41 Peramás, *La república*, p. 86. Original text: [[Los Indios] clavaban en le centro de la plaza las insignias y el estandarte de la Virgen, y llevando en unos escudos las letras del nombre de María las combinaban, evolucionando en diversas formas, hasta que paulatinamente las colocaban en orden, de modo que el público pudiese leer simultáneamente el dulce nombre de la Reina del cielo. Los actores del juego, doblando a compás las rodillas e inclinando la cabeza, quedaban prosternados ante una sagrada imagen de la virgen, dispuesta a este fin de antemano].

and was surrounded by rows of rectangular houses where indigenous families lived. Proximity to the plaza indicated indigenous hierarchy, with houses closer to the plaza belonging to the most important indigenous authorities. The church, cemetery, school, and workshops dominated one of the sides of the plaza. On that side resided the Jesuits and an Indian in charge of the mission's accounting (*mayordomo*), while provisions were stored in warehouses. This urban structure should facilitate efficient distribution and population management and daily activities of the town.[42] Jesuit Anton Sepp described the urban structure as follows:

> The main square was four feet wide and five hundred feet long. On both sides of the church are built the houses of the Indians, like an amphitheater, forming long lines properly proportioned. Each group of houses located on the opposite side of the church was divided into twelve houses, each with its own entrance. The other, right and left of the church, had only six houses. From the square come four main streets out, built cross-shaped that measure sixty meters wide and over a thousand long, and lead to the field in all directions. This distribution of houses and streets beautify the appearance of the village particularly, as from all cardinal points four beautiful and wide avenues lead inside the village and join in the middle of the square, in front of the door of the church.[43]

42 Wilde, Guillermo. "The Political Dimension of Space-Time Categories in the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay (17th and 18th Centuries)". *Space and Conversion in Global Perspective.* Giuseppe Marcocci, Wietse De Boer, Aliocha Maldavsky e Ilaria Pavan (eds.); pp. 175–213 Leiden: Brill, 2014.

43 Antonio Sepp. *Continuación de las labores apostólicas*. Edición crítica de las obras del padre Antonio Sepp S.J., misionero en la Argentina desde 1691 hasta 1733, a cargo de Werner Hoffmann. Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1973. t. 2. p. 224. Original text: [La plaza principal era de cuatrocientos pies de ancho y quinientos pies de largo. A ambos lados de la iglesia se elevan, como en un anfiteatro, las casas de los indios, formando largas filas bien ajustadas. Cada grupo de casas ubicado al lado opuesto de la iglesia se dividía en doce viviendas, cada una con su propia entrada. Los otros, a la derecha e izquierda de la iglesia, contenían solamente seis viviendas. De la plaza salen las cuatro calles principales, construidas en forma de cruz, que miden a lo ancho sesenta metros y a lo largo más de mil, y llevan al campo en todas las direcciones. Esta distribución de las casas y calles embellece el aspecto del pueblo particularmente, pues de todos los puntos cardinales cuatro avenidas anchas y hermosas llevan adentro de la villa y se encuentran en la mitad de la plaza, frente al portal de la iglesia.]

By the eighteenth century, most of the missions' buildings started to be constructed from durable materials such as stones and tiles that were extracted or fabricated by the Indians.

The use of time was strictly regulated, alternating liturgical activities, meals and work. There was a daily distribution of rations of meat and yerba mate, which assured Indians would comply with their economic duties.[44] Jesuit Cardiel describes this daily distribution:

> The distribution of the meat is in this way. After the Rosary, a call with the drum is made. Women come, one from each family. The secretaries catch their notebooks: they start to call all the women for their *cacicazgos* and *parcialidades*; and others give them rations. To plan the rations, they bring the cattle in the morning to the yard and office of the Fathers' house. There they kill the cattle and make rations, and the secretaries adjust their accounts.[45]

The missions had two different production spaces, one for the community and one for each household. The first, called *Tupambae* in Guarani, involved the commitment of all adult males of the community to engage in productive activities within lands and workshops, designed to pay the annual tribute to the king. This space also involved worship, churches' manufacturing and distribution of certain foods. The second, called *Abambae*, was reserved for the survival of each cacique and the people of his cacicazgo. The distribution of work varied from town to town, depending on the accessibility of local resources. Jesuit Jose Cardiel writes that in a town of 5,000 Indians, 3,000 were usually engaged in productive work in farms and yerba mate fields. In addition, part of the population worked in the cotton fields, cane sugar plantations, orchard, water supply, public works, slaughterhouse, craft workshops and other

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44 Guillermo Wilde. 'The Political Dimension of Space-Time Categories in the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay (17th and 18th Centuries)' In: Giuseppe Marcocci & Wietse De Boer & Aliocha Maldavsky & Ilaria Pavan (orgs.). *Space and Conversion in Global Perspective.* Leiden: Brill, 2014.

45 Cardiel quoted by Barcelos. Barcelos, Artur H. F. *Espaço & Arqueologia Nas Missões Jesuíticas: O Caso De São João Batista*, Coleção Arqueologia 7. Porto Alegre: EDIPUCRS, 2000. p. 222. Original text: [La distribución de la carne es de esta manera. Después del Rosario, se hace señal con el tambor. Vienen las mujeres, una de cada familia, cogen los secretarios sus libros: van llamando á todas por sus cacicazgos y parcialidades: y otros les dan ración. Para prevenir éstas, traen las reses por la mañana al patio y oficinas de casa de los Padres. Allí las matan y hacen las raciones, y ajustan los Secretarios la cuenta de ellas.]

functions. The Indians worked 2 or 3 days for the *Tupambae* and the rest of the week for the *Abambae*. Women took care of yarn and collaborated with their husbands in the fields or in domestic tasks, including textiles (which was male's activity) and pottery. Agricultural production was partially oriented to internal consumption and partially to regional commerce. While fruit, corn and cassava, were consumed internally, cotton, snuff, sugar and yerba mate were exported as commodities, but not all the mission towns produced them. The commercialization of yerba mate not only allowed the payment of tribute to the king but also the acquisition of tools. Agriculture was a very unstable activity frequently attacked by drought and pests. At a certain point, livestock became insurance for the missions' subsistence. A village of 2000 inhabitants could consume daily up to 40 heads of cattle.[46]

The increase in production required facilities for the storage of certain products. Apart from path's deposits (*tambos*) used for trade, there were two types of storage systems in the reductions: those designed to conserve the *Tupambae* production, owned by the community, and those to keep the *Abambaé* products, identified by the name of its owner. These caches could be located inside or outside the urban centers. The Jesuits directly controlled the products that came from the orchards in a deposit located beside the cloister.

Missions' trade had at least three circuits. One was internal to each village, based on barter among caciques in an unplanned way, and depended on the existence of individual surpluses. Another circuit connected the different missions, according to the goods produced and distances between them. Some mission towns were eminent cattle or yerba mate producers, while others specialized in craft production (altarpieces, paintings, images, etc.) and public works. A third circuit corresponds to the connection between the reductions and establishments outside the Jesuits' structure, usually located in cities. A special kind of prosecutors of the order that lived in Santa Fe and Buenos Aires managed the missions' goods distribution, selling the yerba mate and other commodities and purchasing items necessary for the missions such as salt, iron tools, oil, wax, wine, and certain types of linen and silk ornaments.

Starting in 1732 the missions experienced an overwhelming demographic decline, losing half of their population in a few years. The factors causing this decline were manifold. Among the most important was the successive

46 For a study on the missions' economy, apart from the book by Garavaglia see Rafael Carbonell de Masy. *Estrategias de desarrollo rural en los pueblos Guaraníes* (*1609–1767*). Barcelona: Sociedad Estatal Quinto Centenario/ICI/Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 1992; Julia Sarreal. *The Guaraní and their missions:* a socioeconomic history. Stanford: Stanford University Press 2014.

epidemics that attacked several villages. Some sources indicate that in the Guarani reductions 18,773 people died of measles in 1733 and around 30,000 of smallpox in 1738–1739.[47] Missions' soldiers had the commitment to assist the governors of Buenos Aires and Asuncion in services of different kinds. This forced thousands of Indians to abandon their mission towns forever. Many of them died in military conflicts. In the 1750s, the Guarani militias were involved in a conflict that followed an uprising known as the "Guarani War". The conflict was triggered by the signing of a Border Treaty between Spain and Portugal that stipulated that Portugal cede the Port of Colonia del Sacramento to Spain of in exchange for a territory in which seven of the thirty Jesuit missions were located. The Indians refused to comply with the order and started an open rebellion against both crowns' allied armies. The confrontation caused the death of more than 1500 Indians in combat. The indigenous defeat was followed by the forced resettlement of Indians of the so called seven "oriental" missions west of the Uruguay River in 1757.

Ruling through Letters

In addition to the thirty Guarani reductions, the Jesuits of Paraguay founded mission in other regions such as Chaco, Pampa, Patagonia and Chiquitos. In the latter, they managed to establish ten mission towns similar to those of the Guarani.[48] This expansion required the availability of a greater number of missionaries, who arrived in successive periods, after the efforts of Jesuit prosecutors of the Paraguayan Province in Rome. The number of missionaries increased significantly starting in the late seventeenth century. In 1650, Guarani missions had only 50 priests and colleagues. A century later, that number almost doubled. Among the missionaries, there were a good number of lay brothers (*coadjutors*), many of whom were experts in crafts important for the missions' industrial development. Although most of the priests were Spanish, the crown authorized during certain periods the arrival of missionaries from Italy, Germany, Switzerland, France and the Low Countries, among other origins. This

47 The epidemic afected the entire region of Rio de la Plata, begining by the Spanish villages, from which it expanded to the missions. Maeder, Ernesto and Alfredo Bolsi. "Evolución y características de la población guaraní de las misiones jesuíticas. 1671–1767." *Historiografía. Revista del Instituto de Estudios Historiográficos* 2 (1976): 113–50, p. 130.

48 Ernesto Maeder, "La población de las Misiones de guaraníes (1641–1682) Reubicación de los pueblos y consecuencias demográficas", *Estudos Iberoamericanos* 15, 1 (1989), pp. 49–68.

is not a minor issue, as in many cases, the nationalities of the different Jesuits printed individual styles to each mission.[49]

Each mission town had two Jesuit missionaries responding to the orders of a superior and a provincial priest. The latter was in charge of writing regular reports known as Annual Letters, narrating the progress of all the establishments of the Province. The missions were part of regional network that also involved other establishments of the order, such as schools, ranches, rectories, forts, residences, etc. The headquarters of the Province were located in the city of Cordoba, where the Jesuits founded the first university of the region. In addition, they had schools and residences in Santiago de Chile, initially a Paraguayan vice province that later became an independent Province. As mentioned above, Jesuits had trade offices or *procuradurias* in Santa Fe and Buenos Aires, responsible for managing and trading products produced in the reductions.

The Jesuit order controlled all its establishments through a sophisticated system of communications that ultimately depended on the decisions of the Superior General in Rome. However, it also instrumented mechanisms for decentralized decision-making based on multiple intermediaries. A key element was the Provincial Congregations of the order, a meeting organized every three years that discussed every issue related to the functioning of the establishments of the order. The provincial congregations were a vital space for discussion, sometimes manifesting very different and divergent proposals and reforms which sometimes where executed independently of Rome.[50] The provincial congregations chose prosecutors, especially sent to the European courts to manage the affairs of the province, from individual requests for goods (books, medicines, pictures, musical instruments) to the recruitment of missionaries. The prosecutor was an essential figure in linking the overseas provinces with major European cities.[51]

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49 Maeder, Ernesto. *Misiones Del Paraguay. Construcción Jesuítica De Una Sociedad Cristiano Guaraní (1610–1768)*. Resistencia: ConTexto – Instituto de Investigaciones Geohistóricas-CONICET, 2014, p. 118. On this specific aspect see Aspurz, Lazaro de. *La Aportación Extranjera a Las Misiones Españolas Del Patronato Regio*. Madrid: Publicaciones del Consejo de la Hispanidad, 1946.

50 The most recent and complete study on the Provincial Congregations of Paraguay is Fabian Fechner. "Entscheidungsfindung in Der Gesellschaft Jesu. Die Provinzkongregationen Der Jesuiten in Paraguay (1608–1762)." Fakultät für Philosophie. Seminar für Neuere Geschichte, Eberhard-Karls-Universität zu Tübingen, 2012.

51 On the procurator of Paraguay see Fechner, Fabian. "Las Tierras Incógnitas de la administración jesuita: toma de decisiones, gremios consultivos y evolución de normas." *Histórica* 38 (2014): 11–42.

The authorities of the order imposed norms through letters directed to control missionaries' behavior, properly indexed and inventoried in special books that established and modified commands and precepts over time. Authorities also applied sanctions to missionaries for particular faults, especially those that transgressed vows of chastity, obedience and poverty, which were common in the missions. Some letters accuse certain priests of sexual offenses, initially denounced by the Indians. Although they do not provide details, caution was a common procedure in the order's treatment of such cases, preferably taking the missionary away from the mission where he had been denounced. We also know about excessive punishments applied to the Indians in certain periods. The General Father in Rome wrote a letter in 1716 complaining about the behavior of some missionaries that had abused Indians with excessive physical and verbal punishment. In one case, a missionary punished an Indian just because he fled his village, "shaving his head till the eyebrows, and tying him to a stick under the sun and naked and smeared with honey so that wasps, flies and horseflies will torment him and this after having being lashed".[52] A subsequent letter emphasizes the need to control the cruelty of punishments over women. Some prisons were in a deep state of deterioration. The women locked inside them did not receive enough food, to the point that some of them miscarried pregnancies while in prison. Some of them had even died or were released from prison because almost dead. The General severely ordered to stop that "inhuman rigor" of "ruthless cruelty".[53] Prison, expulsion from the missions or even expulsion from the order, were among the severest sanctions ordered to stop some missionaries' abuses. Regarding failures to chastity, the orders sought to prevent them by ordering the priests to be always accompanied by their companions wherever they went.[54]

52 Carlos. 2013. Las cartas de los generales Tirso González y Miguel Ángel Tamburini para la provincia del Paraguay. IHS. Antiguos jesuitas en Iberoamérica 1 (1):248–321. Letters from the Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, p. 292. Original text: ["rapar la cabeza asta las zejas, y atado a un palo lo tuvo al sol desnudo untado con miel para que las avispas, moscas, y tabanos lo atormentasen, y esto después de aver precedido los azotes"].

53 "Las cartas de los generales", p. 303. Original text: "[…] han malparido en la prission, y aun algunas han muerto, o las han sacado ya moribundas. Llegasse a este inhumano rigor, la crueldad de despiadados, y en el numero excesivos azotes, no se contando por bien dados, los que no hacen saltar sangre."

54 Morales, Martín María. *A mis manos han llegado. Cartas de los PP. Generales a la Antigua Provincia del Paraguay (1608–1639)*. Madrid-Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu. Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2005, p. 435.

Both the internal correspondence of the order and the local documentation provide evidence about different types of conflicts within the missions, which were generally concealed in the more official accounts of the order. One common type of conflict involved internal strife among the missionaries themselves. Internal letters refer to the excessive freedom some priests and lay brothers had in the missions, where they did not recognize any superior authority. Another kind of conflict emerged when members of the indigenous elite questioned missionaries' authority, which could end up in riots involving quite a few Indians. In order to control these situations without requiring the intervention of outside secular authorities, the Jesuits commonly resorted to sanctions such as the exile of the rebels from their own mission to others where they would be controlled and isolated.

The Jesuits emphasize the necessity of controlling the Indians always and everywhere in order to make them work. For the missionaries, the Indians had an inconstant character needing permanent corrections and tutelage. Jesuit Cardiel complains: "It is not only necessary to force them to cultivate their farms but to harvest them [...] Many times we have experienced that the indian, only while the Priest is present, works with advantage, and it is impossible that the Priest can always take care of it."[55]

A third kind of conflict included struggles among the Indians. The missions frequently incorporated indigenous groups that had previously had conflicts or even wars between them. Jesuits generally separated them in different neighborhoods. However, the coexistence of enemy groups usually caused tensions, riots, deaths and revenges that could lead to the decomposition of mission towns. There is also evidence about clashes between traditional indigenous authorities, the *caciques*, and the members of the local council, the *cabildantes*. With the consolidation of the missions, *caciques* gradually lost their power in favor of the *cabildantes* who occupied positions in the new bureaucratic structure of the missions. While the former were recognized for their prestige and charisma by their followers and relatives, the latter were commonly designated by the Jesuits to rule the missions and to impose discipline upon the population.

In spite of fostering the homogenization of indigenous groups, the Jesuits authorized the coexistence of ethnically heterogeneous groups within a same

55 Cardiel, José. *Costumbres de los Guaraníes.* Muriel *Historia del Paraguay desde 1747 a 1767*: 462–544. Madrid. J. Suárez, 1919 [1770], p. 476–477. Original text: [No sólo es preciso forzarlos a cultivar las chacras sino también a recoger los frutos [...] Muchas veces hemos experimentado que el indio, sólo mientras el Cura está presente, trabaja con provecho; y es imposible que el Cura le pueda estar siempre atendiendo.]

village. Even as late as the 1730s non-Guarani indigenous groups were incorporated into the missions. These groups, frequently designated as "infieles", sometimes established networks of solidarity or even kinship relationships with the Christian Indians of the missions. Some Jesuit orders were oriented to control exchanges between both, for they thought that the former would corrupt the latter. During the Jesuits' period, but especially after the expulsion, some rebel Guarani fled from the missions, seeking refugee outside among the "infieles".[56]

The Final Phase

In 1767, Charles III signed a decree expelling the Jesuits from all the domains of the Spanish Crown. The order arrived the missions of Paraguay in the first months of the following year. The governor of Buenos Aires, Francisco de Paula Bucareli y Ursua, visited in person all the missions to implement the royal decree. He took all Jesuits prisoner and immediately deported them first to Buenos Aires first and later to Europe. The Papal States would protect them at least until the expiry of the order, which occurred in 1773. The number of Jesuits in the Province of Paraguay amounted to 449 at the time of the expulsion. More than 80 of them worked at the missions among the Indians. It was the second largest Jesuit province of Spanish America, after Mexico.

The reasons that led to the expulsion of the Jesuits are complex and cannot be treated in detail here. There were converging factors at the international level that may have precipitated the King's decision, such as the rise of anti-Jesuit factions around him. Some influential Bourbonic officials considered the Ignatians a big threat to monarchical power and instigators of riots and unrest in the Peninsula. Although the situation in distant Paraguay missions may not have been decisive, they certainly were an element that contributed to create an environment of aversion toward the order in European courts. In Portugal the Jesuits were expelled some years earlier, and the affair of the "Guarani War" had been a strong argument for the expulsion fueling the Marquis of Pombal's anti-Jesuit position. In turn, a secret opinion made by the secretary Carlos Rodriguez de Campomanes for Charles III condemned the Jesuits for defending some kind of "loose" morality beyond the control of the crown, which corrupted local elites overseas and jeopardized the King's sovereignty.

56 Wilde: *Religiòn y Poder* …; Elisa Frühauf Garcia, *As diversas formas de ser índio. Políticas indígenas e políticas indigenistas no extremo sul da América portuguesa*. Rio de Janeiro, 2009.

The story of the missions in the post-Jesuit period was characterized by a gradual fragmentation and the economic, territorial, and demographic decline of the system that the Jesuits had created. Franciscan, Mercedarian and Dominican priests replaced the Jesuits, receiving the oversight of spiritual matters. New priests were explicitly forbidden from intervening in the management of the economy of the missions. Among the most important changes was the introduction of colonial officials to take over the economic administration of mission towns. Such modification caused big problems: administrators jockeyed with priests for control of spaces, and the indigenous elite that remained in office backed either one or the other faction. During this period, conflicts among the Indians also deepened, especially between caciques and local council members. The political and economic coercion over the community of the missions progressively increased and worsened the living conditions of most of the population. Several Indians fled, taking refuge in other missions, in the ranches of the countryside, and in the most important cities of the region, where in many cases they got jobs as skilled artisans.[57] Between 1768 and 1807 the total population of the mission towns overwhelmingly dropped. Epidemics struck in the 1770s, decimating more than half of the population in some villages. Many Indians that fled the missions devoted themselves to illegal activities such as cattle rustling in partnership with other subjects living in the countryside with no clear adscription or attachment to any place. They mingled with both Spanish and Portuguese deserters and even with the so-called "infidel" Indians that had rejected the missions and with people of African descent. In the sources of the period these mixed groups appear contemptuously designated as "guaderíos", people that later became known as "gauchos" in the history of Southern cone.

From the very moment of the Jesuits´ expulsion, the entire region and the missions in particular were affected by economic and administrative reforms that sought to promote individual initiatives of trade, industry and agriculture. This contributed to the deterioration of the already-fragile regime of collective production of the missions. The reforms also fostered the assimilation of indigenous peoples into colonial society, which began by the ban of indigenous languages in schools and a progressive elimination of the gap between Indians and Spanish peasants the Jesuits segregation policy had introduced. In 1801, Portuguese troops invaded part of the territory of the missions located east of the Uruguay River, in the region known as Banda Oriental (today's Uruguay

57 Maeder and Bolsi estimate a descent from 88.000 to 38.000 people in this period. Maeder, Ernesto; Alfredo Bolsi. "La Población Guaraní de la Provincia de Misiones en la época Post Jesuítica (1768–1810)." *Folia histórica del Nordeste* 5 (1982): 61–106.

and southern Brazil), occupying seven mission towns. Many Indians remained in those missions and many others fled to different destinations.

The fall of the Iberian monarchies in 1809 plunged the whole region of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata into civil wars that continued throughout the nineteenth century. The ancient viceroys of Peru and Rio de la Plata fragmented into many factions that fought for their independence and legitimacy. Although many Indians from the missions participated in these wars searching for the recovery of the lost integrity of its territory, most of the missions located in the conflict zone rapidly disintegrated. In spite of these changes, many missions retained their old municipal structure as well as some basic forms of liturgical activity. Indigenous *cabildos* with their secretaries and notaries continued to produce documents of different kinds, both in Guarani and Spanish. Churches also continued their activities, some of them even without priests, following a daily routine of rosary, sermons and liturgical chants.

Conclusion

Both for their location and dimensions the Jesuit missions of Paraguay were an important social, political and economic formation in the southern part of the Iberian domains. The reductions not only sought to integrate indigenous peoples into the Spanish colonial regime, but also pursued the objective of establishing direct control of peripheral territories. Through the transfer of full control to the Jesuits and the granting of privileges to the missions, the Spanish crown assured its control over the region for one and a half centuries.

Far from being coherent, isolated and homogeneous spaces, the missions were instead contested and negotiated spaces, in which the Jesuit priests rehearsed different kinds of strategies to attract indigenous leaders to them. The role of indigenous actors in this process is essential to understand the missions' final shape.

The mission towns were the result of an ethnogenetic process that began by the resettlement and concentration of indigenous population from different regions in new villages. The Jesuit missionaries, in collaboration with indigenous elite, kept this population segregated from the Spanish world and autonomously administered it. Thus, the Jesuits excluded the missions from the influence of settlers living in the city of Asuncion who wanted the Indians for their *encomiendas*. These priests also managed to control the *bandeirantes* attacks by creating a political and military structure in the missions that would defend the boundaries of the territory. The Jesuits introduced some basic operating principles searching for the homogenization of the indigenous

population, such as standardization of a common language through vocabularies and grammars, mainly used for doctrinal purposes the creation of political institutions of government, councils and militias; and church jobs and crafts. This socio-political, economic and religious regime contributed to the formation of a mission's identity that was gradually appropriated by the Indians in successive generations.

CHAPTER 4

Early Modern Catholic Missions in Brazil: The Challenge of the Outsiders

Anne McGinness

4.1 Introduction

Jesuits Manuel da Nóbrega and José de Anchieta recounted their horror on the feast of Corpus Christi in Rio de Janeiro in 1563, as the Tupi, the native peoples of the coast of Brazil, celebrated by drinking alcohol, dancing, and gnawing on the leg of a Portuguese slave. Anchieta recounted the scene:

> And they [the Tupi] carried on drinking and dancing with a great party … And one of the worst [Tupi] said, "Don't make me mad, because I already killed one of yours and ate him,"—referring to a Portuguese slave who was from Rio de Janeiro. And then this man sent one of his women to take off a shinbone that he had saved to make flutes. The others seeing this said, "You killed and ate him, let us eat him also." And asking for flour [to accompany the meal], one Tupi took one strip [of meat], another Tupi took another, [and] they began to gnaw on the leg like dogs.[1]

The Portuguese colonization of and evangelization in Brazil was fraught with obstacles, of which cannibalism was only one. If the Portuguese survived the arduous journey to Brazil in the early 1500s, disease, death, wild animals, motley crews of colonists and natives, and a lawless nation awaited them. How did the Catholic Church make converts in these conditions?

4.2 Background

According to Brazil's most well-known Jesuit, António Vieira (1608–1697), evangelization was only possible with colonization. Colonization started slowly

1 Serafim Leite, (ed.), *Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu. Monumenta Brasiliae IV* (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1960), 146. Letter by Father José de Anchieta to Father Diego Lainez from São Vicente, January 8, 1565. All translations are my own.

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in Brazil due to the vast amount of territory and the limited number of people to colonize. Portugal began the largest seafaring movement of the 15th century while being one of the smallest kingdoms in Western Europe in terms of land mass and population size. Therefore, after the Portuguese explorer Pedro Alvares Cabral and his crew landed in Brazil in 1500, settlement was minimal for the next fifty years. In 1530 King João III of Portugal delegated the promotion of settlement to several captains. In an effort to populate (*povoar*) the new-found colony, King João III divided fifteen lots (*sesmarias*) among twelve proprietary Portuguese captains. The system failed. Portuguese settlements in Asia, which seemed more promising, absorbed disproportionate numbers from a homeland of only one million people. In Brazil, moreover, the colonists and native peoples often did not get along. The size of Brazil also meant that the distance between captaincies was great and their climates and landscapes varied.

Beginning in the 1530s and 1540s sugar cultivation became a widespread staple of Brazilian agriculture.[2] Brought from the Old world to the New, sugar was the catalyst that eventually made Brazil the most successful colony in the Portuguese empire. Pernambuco, in the northeast, immediately began to prosper owing to good leadership in the captaincy, decent relations with the Indians, and the presence of people from the Old World who were skilled in building and running sugar mills.[3] The region led Brazil in sugar production, with five mills in 1550 and sixty-six by 1580.[4] The Portuguese city of Olinda, high in the hills (people from Lisbon were used to this landscape) was one of "the most noble and populous *vilas*" in the north, as the one of the first chroniclers of Brazil, Pero Magalhães de Gândavo, recorded.[5]

São Vicente (present-day São Paulo) was the only other captaincy to fare well initially, though Bahia also had potential to do well. A large-scale sugar business in São Vicente, however, would not emerge until the 19th century, leaving Bahia and Pernambuco as the colony's main ports in the 16th and 17th centuries.[6] From 1500–1549 there was no government presence in Bahia. The Bay of All Saints in the captaincy of Bahia had ideal soil conditions and a perfect port for sending sugar back to Europe, but poor leadership and skirmishes with the Indians prevented progress in the early 1500s. In 1548 the Portuguese

2 Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550–1835* (Cambridge; New York: 1985), 16.

3 Ibid., 18.

4 Ibid.

5 Pero Magalhães de Gândavo, *A primeira história do Brasil*, (eds.) Sheila Moura Hue and Ronaldo Menegaz (Lisbon: 2004), 53.

6 Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 18.

crown, realizing the importance of sugar production in the region, created the capital city Salvador next to the Bay and in 1549 the first governor, Tomé de Sousa, arrived and began to organize the sugar economy there.

The first Europeans missionaries came into contact with people of the Tupi-Guarani language group. The two groups had separated before the arrival of the Europeans. In 1500 the Tupis occupied the most important portion of the coastal zone between Ceará and Cananéia (São Paulo) and the Guaranis dominated the southern coast from Cananéia to the Lake of Ducks (Rio Grande do Sul).[7] Europeans further distinguished groups that spoke a derivation of Tupi. There were the Tupinambá in Bahia, and the Tupiniquin and Aimoré south of Camamú to Espírito Santo.[8] In the early 16th century the indigenous population of Brazil has been estimated at somewhere between 1 and 5 million inhabitants.[9] Three circumstances drastically reduced numbers over the course of the 16th century. First, the Portuguese enslaved the Indians for manual labor on their plantations. Second, epidemics were widespread throughout Brazil in 1562, 1578–1579, 1581, 1585, and 1597.[10] Droughts were also common. Last, the *entradas*, or the missions to bring the Indians down (*descer*) from the populated woodlands to the coast in Bahia and Pernambuco from 1570–1590, further decimated the native peoples as they were exposed to disease and arduous labor.[11] By the 17th century Amerindians were outnumbered in their homeland. Around 1640 the total population of the Northeast of Brazil was divided into approximately 30,000 Portuguese, 30,000 African slaves, 16,000 Amerindians, 12,000 Dutch (which consisted of many Europeans allied with them) and 1,500 Jews.[12]

4.3 Jesuit Missions

Within this colonial structure, Christianity slowly took root. The Catholic missionary enterprise required official support in Europe from a state leader or

7 Jorge Couto, *A construção do Brasil: Ameríndios, Portugueses e Africanos, do início do povoamento a finais de Quinhentos* (Lisbon: 1995), 56.

8 Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society*, 29.

9 Couto, *A construção do Brasil*, 62. The first census was not administered until the 1770s in Brazil, see Dauril Alden, "The Population of Brazil in the Late Eighteenth Century: A Preliminary Study," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 43 (1963): 173–205.

10 Alida C. Metcalf, "The Entradas of Bahia of the Sixteenth Century," *The Americas* 61 (2005): 378–379.

11 Ibid., 383.

12 Frans Leonard Schalkwijk, *The Reformed Church in Dutch Brazil, 1630–1654* (Zoetermeer: 1998), 48.

monarch and the willingness of a religious order to carry out the plan. The *padroado* (Royal Patronage) in Lisbon organized the missions. Six religious orders were active in Brazil under the *padroado*: Jesuits, Franciscians, Carmelites, Benedictines, Capuchins, and Oratorians.[13] The *Padroado* also financed the secular clergy in Brazil. Between 1551 and 1676 there was only one diocese, located in Salvador da Bahia, and it was not until 1676–1677 that dioceses in Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro and São Luís de Maranhão came into existence.[14] In 1622, the Holy See established the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide,* which attempted to centralize the missions and to move priests and bishops into areas of Brazil that were not served by religious orders in the missions. The power of the *padroado,* however, was strong and continued to finance religious endeavors after 1622. Our knowledge of the secular clergy in Brazil is left wanting. Of the regular clergy, the Jesuits were the most active order in Brazil and hence, the focus of this chapter. They were favored by the king and gifted early leaders in the evangelization of Brazil. They were also the most influential group to try to convert the native peoples of Brazil. In terms of their evangelical, educational, and cultural influence, the Jesuits had no other ecclesiastical rivals in Brazil until the 1750s.[15]

The Society, founded by Ignatius of Loyola, began in Paris in 1534 when Ignatius and a small group of friends partook in the *Spiritual Exercises.* The Society came to Brazil because it had a strong relationship with the Portuguese monarchy. The crown supported the Jesuits' eagerness to evangelize. In 1549 the Jesuits arrived in Brazil and eventually made their main center and college in Salvador of Bahia. Within fifty years they established colleges in Rio de Janeiro, Olinda, São Paulo, and Vitória. In the Jesuit colleges and *aldeias,* or missionary settlements, the Jesuits learned a type of Tupi which they made into a written and standardized format for the sake of instruction.

The Jesuits found the Tupi, new to the Christian religion, to be a *tabula rasa*. At first, the Tupi's apparent lack of worship spaces and discernible Tupi idols meant that missionary work in Brazil took a distinct course from that of Spanish America. Owing to the lack of visible deities, missionaries debated whether the Tupi had a religion.[16] Despite what the Jesuits initially thought, the Tupi did

13 For a good overview of Catholicism in colonial Brazil see Eduardo Hoornaert, "The Catholic Church in Colonial Brazil," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, (ed.) Leslie Bethell, vol. 1 (Cambridge: 1984), 542–549.

14 Hoornaert, "The Catholic Church in Colonial Brazil," 550.

15 Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750* (Stanford: 1996), 75.

16 Sabine MacCormack, "Ethnography in South America: The First Two Hundred Years," in *Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of South America* (Cambridge: 1999), 112–114.

have their own religious practices. Particularly famous were the *santidades,* or the rituals of the caraíbas, or Tupi prophets, who initiated large gatherings in the village.[17] The Tupi were known for preaching elegantly in the mornings and evenings, smoking herbs, entering into trances, and contacting the spirits of the Gods.[18] The Tupi held the belief that prophets could be reincarnated to lead the people on earth to a paradise called the Land without Evil.[19] Sometimes the Tupi would give their lives to arrive at the paradise. The prophets would convince the Tupi not to collect food, plant vegetables, or hunt because, with the coming of the prophet, food would be plentiful.[20] Some Jesuits began to grasp the Tupi's view of the world and used Tupi beliefs as a pathway to conversion. The 17th-century priest and observer, Yves d'Evreux, argued that important elements of Christian belief were found in Tupi belief systems and legends, especially the belief in an earthly paradise.[21]

Certain Tupi behaviors posed considerable problems to evangelization: cannibalism, sexual licentiousness, drunkenness, a semi-nomadic way of life, and a culture motivated by continual warfare and revenge. A semi-nomadic way of life meant that the Tupi lacked a stability needed for conversion. The Jesuits began by creating *aldeias,* or villages established for the purpose of evangelization. They preached to people of all ages, yet they placed their hope for a systemic change of culture in young children.

Missionary activity centered on the *aldeias* and the town centers. José de Anchieta, S.J. estimated that from 1549 to the mid-1580s, the Jesuits had converted over 100,000 Brasis.[22] Anchieta added, however, that only one in five actually remained within the Catholic fold owing to disease, enslavement by the settlers, and their tendency to flee the *aldeias*. Fernão Cardim, S.J., who surveyed Brazil from 1583–1585, reported 18,000 Indian converts.[23] Bahia

17 Ronaldo Vainfas, *A heresia dos índios: catolicismo e rebeldia no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo: 1995).

18 Pierre Clastres, *Society against the State: Essays in Political Anthropology* (New York: 1987), 31.

19 Alfred Métraux, *La religion des Tupinamba et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus Tupi-Guarani* (Paris: 1928); Pierre Clastres, *Society Against the State.*

20 Egon Schaden, *A mitologia heróica de tribos indígenas do Brasil; ensaio etno-sociológico* (Rio de Janeiro: 1959), 49–50.

21 Yves d'Évreux, *Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil fait durant les années 1613–1614 par le Père Yves d'Évreux* (Paris: 1864), 262, 322.

22 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750*, 73.

23 Charlotte Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile : les Jésuites et la conversion des indiens au Brésil, 1580–1620* (Lisbon and Paris: 2000), 54.

and Rio de Janeiro had the largest number of Jesuits (60 and 28 respectively). These locations also reported the most converts. Cardim believed that there were 8,000 Christian Indians in Bahia and another 6,000 in Rio de Janeiro.

4.4 Historiography

Fernão Cardim, S.J., José de Anchieta, S.J., and Manuel de Nóbrega, S.J. recorded the initial conceptual and practical challenges of bringing a new territory into the Christian fold.[24] *Monumenta Brasiliae* houses many of the Jesuit letters from Brazil.[25] Traditional Jesuit historiography on Brazil exalted the virtues of the Jesuits who did this arduous work. The Jesuits in Europe who compiled the first histories of the Society of Jesus often mentioned Brazil since many of their brothers died as martyrs in, or on their way to, Brazil. Nicolaus Orlandinus (1620), Louis Richeôme (1611), Bartolomé Guerreiro (1642) and Antonio Franco (1714), for example, glorified Brazil's martyrs. The first large scale compilation of the Society's activity in Brazil was Simão Vasconcellos's *Crônica da Companhia de Jesus do Estado do Brasil* (1663). Vasconcellos was a prolific Jesuit and wrote the life of Anchieta, among many other works, commemorating the first Jesuits' efforts.

In the same celebratory vein, Serafim Leite's ten volume work, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* (1938–1950), is the classic modern work on the Jesuits in colonial Brazil. Leite grew up in the Amazon for part of his childhood and then became a Jesuit in Brazil. He sees Catholicism as triumphant in Brazil, and the Jesuits as central players in the conversion of the country. The ten volumes were republished in 2004.[26] Charlotte Castelnau L'Estoile shifted the focus away from praising the Society in favor of a more somber view of the Jesuits' evangelization in Brazil. *Les Ouvriers d'une Vigne Sterile* (2000) interprets the Jesuits as tilling a sterile vine.[27] Historians have focused more recently on

24 Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da terra e gente do Brasil* (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1997); José de Anchieta, *Cartas, informações, fragmentos historicos e sermões do Padre Joseph de Anchieta, s.J. (1554–1594)*. (Rio de Janeiro: 1933); Manuel da Nóbrega, *O diálogo da conversão do gentio, pelo P. Manuel Da Nóbrega, com preliminares e anotações históricas e críticas de Serafim Leite*, (ed.) Serafim Leite (Lisbon: 1954).

25 Serafim Leite, (ed.), *Monumenta Brasiliae*, 5 vols. (Rome: 1965).

26 Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, (ed.) César dos Santos, 10 vols. (São Paulo: 2004).

27 Charlotte Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile*.

the Jesuits' unique way of proceeding, on the tensions within the missionary project, and on the obstacles the Jesuits faced on the path to "saving souls" in Brazil. These lines of research reflect on how the Jesuits interacted with, and interpreted, the role of outsiders in Brazilian lands.

In the past, Jesuit studies tended to focus on the Jesuits as an entity in themselves rather than on the Jesuits' relations with the world. Martyrdom and the potential of sainthood of Anchieta and Vieira are examples par excellence. The fourth exercise in St. Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*, however, called on the Jesuits to go out into the world and do the work of God. Historians are writing about how Jesuits interacted with people that comprised their spheres of influence—other Europeans, Protestants, African slaves, and indigenous peoples. While Ignatius's attention was mostly on ministry, the Jesuits found themselves acting as scientists, doctors, healers, administrators, and advisors to kings and viceroys around the world.

4.5 Jesuit Support of Slavery and Violence versus Jesuit Accommodation

How the Jesuits understood, interacted with, and often supported African, and at times Indian, slavery is a subject of much debate in the historiography. On a practical level, the Jesuits in Brazil relied on Indian labor at times. On a theoretical level, the propensity of the colonists to enslave the Tupi conflicted with the mission of the Jesuits, who were teaching Catholicism and educating the Tupi in European manners and customs. This caused a variety of conflicts between the Portuguese colonists and the Jesuits. The Portuguese landowners worked the indigenous people incessantly in the sugar and tobacco fields. Owing to this hard labor, many Indians fled the Jesuit villages and ran into the backwoods.[28] Some Jesuits spoke out against these injustices from the pulpits and, in turn, had an antagonist relationship with some of the Portuguese

28 See for instance, "Memorial sobre as Terras, e Gente do Maranhão, e Gram Pará, e Rio das Amazonas," Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Bras 11, 507v. "No temporal tambem os pobres indios padecem grandes injustiças dos Portugueses, que aqui se não podem referir por extenso; como são muitos cativeiros, injustos, contra a forma das leis de sua magestidade mandando os vender para fora da terra, e das conquistas. Outros os opprimem com grande violencia, obrigandoos a serviços mui pesados, como he faser tabacco: em que se trabalha sete, e oito meses continuos de dia, e de noite … e por isso fogem para os matos, despousando suas aldeas. E outros no mesmo serviço morrem de desgosto sem remedio algum. De todas estas cousas ha muitos exemplos …"

landowners.[29] Another example of conflict that ensued between the Jesuits and the colonists was over the *bandeiras*, or military-like brigades led by Portuguese or people of mixed Portuguese-Indian ancestry, backed by Indian allies, who journeyed west and south from São Paulo with the goal of capturing Indians to be used for labor on the plantations and to search for material wealth.[30] The *bandeiras* would raid Jesuit *aldeias* and forced the Jesuits to retreat. The Jesuits were expelled from Santos and São Paulo in 1640, despite the efforts of Spanish Jesuits the year before to obtain a bull from Pope Urban VIII which reiterated the prohibition against Indian slavery.[31] The Jesuits estimated that 300,000 Indians were taken from the Paraguay mission alone.[32] A final example of conflict between the Jesuits and colonists was over cattle expansion into the inland wilderness (*sertão*). Because the Jesuits controlled Indian labor and owned large amounts of cattle, the ranchers would protest.[33]

Practically speaking, the Jesuits in Brazil employed both Native Americans and Africans as slaves as Carlos Moura Ribeiro Zeron has shown. His study untangles the controversy over whether the Jesuits had indigenous slaves.[34] While most of the Jesuit writings from Brazil try to hide their use of Native Americans for labor within the *aldeias*, Zeron shows how historians have misunderstood the Jesuits' position on indigenous slavery because they cannot comprehend how it fits in to their mission to save indigenous souls. Jesuits in Brazil often differed in opinion on the subject and debated the issue with those in Europe. The *aldeais,* as Zeron shows, were often seen as reservoirs of soldiers and a workforce for the colony.[35] While there were some Jesuits who insisted on the freedom of the Indians, most notably António Vieira in the 17th century, most of the Jesuits accepted, at least for practical reasons, the use of indigenous labor from their *aldeias* to help run the Jesuit enterprise. Dauril Alden examined inventories from Jesuit estates and found, for example, that in 1572 on the Santana estate that "only 8.1 percent of the slave force consisted of Guinea

29 Ibid., "E os religiosos por fallarem contra estas injustiças e violencias, são odiados, e perseguidos."

30 Stuart B. Schwartz, "Colonial Brazil, C. 1580-C. 1750: Plantations and Peripheries," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, (ed.) Leslie Bethell, vol. II (Cambridge: 1984), 469.

31 Ibid., 471.

32 Ibid., 469.

33 Ibid., 461.

34 Carlos Moura Ribeiro Zeron, *Ligne de foi : la Compagnie de Jésus et l'esclavage dans le processus de formation de la société coloniale en Amérique Portugaise, XVIe-XVIIe siècles* (Paris: 2009).

35 Ibid., 486.

slaves; Indians constituted the remainder."[36] Likewise, Rafael Ruiz found that in the early seventieth century in São Paulo the Jesuits sent caciques to round up the Indians to live near the mines.[37]

The Jesuits were, at times, persecuted by the indigenous peoples (and possibly for good reason). In 1650 the Governor of Maranhão wrote to King João IV about the Indians of the backlands of Itapecuru who fled the *engenhos* (sugar plantations) and killed three Jesuit priests. The governor explained that the Jesuits were abusing the indigenous slaves, who then escaped and took revenge.[38] The Jesuits also, like the colonists, amassed a fortune from the sugar fields of Brazil, which required a substantial labor force.[39]

These abuses, however, have recently been ignored in favor of an emphasis on accommodation. This raises several questions. First, we might ask how different were catechetical methods in Europe and the Americas? A "horizontal" methodology, which compares missions among themselves, might shed light on additional dimensions of how conversion and subjection fit into the Jesuit paradigm. José de Anchieta, the most influential Jesuit in the early Brazilian mission, engaged in both subjection and accommodation. Held in captivity by warring indigenous groups, Anchieta realized that an element of force was necessary to evangelize at times. He was inspired by Luke 14:23, "Go out to the roads and country lanes and compel them to come in."[40] Manuel da Nóbrega in *Diálogo da conversão do gentio* (1556) also believed that the only way to convert the Indians was to impose a moderate degree of subjection.[41] While the Portuguese Crown and the papacy forbade forced conversion, subjection (i.e. compelling the Indians to the *aldeias*) was allowed, leaving open a variety of interpretations.

For the most part, the Jesuits in Brazil did not directly engage in the natural slavery debate, in part because it had already been resolved by Spaniards. The notable exception is the debate that took place between Manuel da Nóbrega

36 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise,* 520.

37 Rafael Ruiz, "The Spanish-Dutch War and the Policy of the Spanish Crown toward the Town of Sao Paulo," *Itinerario* 26, no. 1 (2002): 112.

38 Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Brazil, Avulsos, Capitania de Maranhao, Cx.3, D.285.

39 See Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750* (Stanford: 1996). See especially part IV: Financing an Enterprise: Sources of Controversy.

40 Anchieta, *Cartas, informações, fragmentos historicos e sermões do Padre Joseph de Anchieta, s.J. (1554–1594)* (Rio de Janeiro: 1933). "aos que nós trazemos por fôrca," 92; "compelle eos intrare," 186.

41 Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile,* 99.

and Quirício Caxa, a professor of moral theology at the Jesuit college of Bahia.[42] The Jesuits trained in Europe were influenced by Aristotle's theory of natural slavery, which stated that proper mastery over one's passions exempted some people from subjection and qualified them to master others.[43] The legal tradition for legitimizing the conquest of infidel lands began with Pope Innocent IV (d. 1254).[44] He defended *dominium,* or the natural right of Christians and infidels to own property and establish governments.[45] The pope, however, could override infidels' rights to land as he was responsible for the salvation of all people. Offenses against natural law in the late middle ages exempted perpetrators from natural law's protection and constituted evidence of the absence of a true polity at which point the pope could intervene.[46] Beginning in the thirteenth century, the pope could sanction the conquests of infidels who violated natural law, but forced conversions were not permitted.[47] Christian conquest was still debated in the 15th century.[48] In 1537, Paul III (d. 1549) declared in *Sublimis Deus* (1537) that the Indians could be converted.[49]

Even when the slave labor of the Native Americans was morally, legally, and philosophically called into question throughout the Spanish and Portuguese empires, African slaves provided the workforce for Jesuit plantations despite repeated orders from the Superior General of the Society to not keep slaves at the colleges. The Jesuits in Brazil did not follow orders. They insisted that there was nobody else who could complete their daily tasks.[50] Except for a few

42 José Eisenberg, *As Missões Jesuíticas e o Pensamento Político Moderno: Encontros Culturais, Aventuras Teóricas* (Belo Horizonte: 2000); Lauri Tähtinen, "The Ideological Origins of the Portuguese Empire in Brazil" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2012), 153–154.

43 Frederick Russell, *Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge; New York: 1975), chapters 4 and 5; Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge; New York: 1982), 42.

44 James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World 1250–1550* (Liverpool: 1979), 28–48.

45 James Muldoon, *The Americas in the Spanish World Order: The Justification for Conquest in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: 1994), ch. 1.

46 Michael Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages. The Papal Monarchy with Augustinus Triumphus and the Publicists* (Cambridge: 1964), 415.

47 Muldoon, *The Americas in the Spanish World Order*, 17.

48 Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels*, 120–124.

49 Parts of this paragraph were taken from my article on the subject. Anne McGinness, "Between Subjection and Accommodation: The Development of José de Anchieta's Missionary Project in Colonial Brazil," *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, January 2014.

50 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750*, 508.

outliers, they never questioned the use of African slaves in colonial society. From 1550–1575 it is estimated that 10,000 Africans arrived in Brazil, and from 1576–1600 there were 40,000.[51] The Portuguese obtained slaves from Angola and Guinea. Alden and Schwartz have shown that there is no evidence that the Jesuits treated their slaves any better than the plantation owners.[52] Quilombos, or communities of runaway slaves, attest to the brutal conditions throughout Brazil from which they fled.

More recently, scholarship has turned away from Jesuit support of violence, in its various forms, toward the Jesuits' creative 'way of proceeding.' Some of these studies, however, are not true to the origins of Jesuit accommodation. As Emanuele Colombo and Thomas Cohen recall, St. Ignatius' 'way of proceeding' derived from St. Paul's words: "I have become all things to all men, that I might by all means save some" (1 Cor 9:22). Colombo and Cohen urge scholars to study Jesuit accommodation as it relates to its historical and theological roots (and not based on anachronistic definitions of accommodation).[53] As an angle into accommodation, scholars have focused on how Christianity did not simply replace indigenous worldviews but how European Catholic and indigenous worldviews melded together. In the literature on conversion in Spanish America, art historians, historians, and anthropologists have focused on Catholic priests who spread the faith to indigenous peoples and colonists and on indigenous peoples' adaptation to Catholicism.[54] Some scholars demonstrate how the Church tried to impose orthodoxy and eradicate pagan rituals.[55] Others show how Christianity adjusted to indigenous sensibilities to appeal in a new setting. As Charlotte Castelnau L'Estoile has shown convincingly, the Tupi appropriated relics and lifted up the bones of a Jesuit martyr as a prophet in their

51 For more information see Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, *O trato dos viventes: formaçaõ do Brasil no Atlântico Sul séculos XVI e XVII* (São Paulo: 2000), 389, n. 130.

52 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 518; Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550–1835*, 142.

53 Thomas M. Cohen and Emanuele Colombo, "Jesuit Missions," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History*, (ed.) Hamish Scott, vol. 2 (Oxford: 2015).

54 Teresa Gisbert, *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes: la imagen del otro en la cultura andina* (La Paz: 1999); Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570* (Cambridge: 1987); Gauvin A. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* (Toronto: 1999); Charlotte Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile, 1580–1620* (Lisbon: 2000).

55 Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523–1572* (Berkeley: 1966).

own culture, since the custom of relics was not that foreign to them.[56] Other historians have shed light on how the Tupi might have perceived Christians.[57] Cristina Pompa's pioneering study of indigenous conversion in Brazil shows the dialectic between the Brazilians and missionaries in an effort to create a Christian community. She attempts to understand the multiple meanings of Christianity and conversion among indigenous peoples. Renato Cymbalista has tried to show how faith, fidelity, courage, honor, and vengeance played a role in how the Tupi understood Christian martyrdom in their own terms.[58] Lacking documents written by the Tupi, he drew on Jesuit sources and the work of anthropologist Viveiros de Castro to imagine Tupi perceptions.[59] Anthropologists have engaged with Jesuit sources, such as the classic Alfred Métreaux (1930s) and more recently Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, who studied in depth the Tupi warrior and spiritual culture.[60] Is the Brazilian Catholicism that emerged best described in its own terms, as a distinct tradition? Further comparisons with other sites in Spanish America would draw out the implications of Brazilian religious *mestiçagem* further.

4.6 Four European Powers and Their Challenge to Catholicism in Brazil

The Jesuits were not only learning how to adapt to life with the indigenous peoples of Brazil, they also had to contend with three other European powers, which further complicated their missionary project. The French, Dutch and Spanish empires also occupied colonial Brazil. In defiance of the Papal Bull of 1493 and the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 that divided the New World into

56 Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, "The Uses of Shamanism: Evangelizing Strategies and Missionary Models in Seventeenth-Century Brazil," in *The Jesuits II. Culture, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, (eds.) John W. O'Malley, S.J., Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy, S.J. (Toronto: 2006); Renato Cymbalista, "The Presence of the Martyrs: Jesuit Martyrdom and the Christanisation of Portuguese America," *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 10 (2010): 287–305.

57 Cristina Pompa, *Religão como tradução: missionários, Tupi, e Tupuai no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo: 2003); Cymbalista, "The Presence of the Martyrs: Jesuit Martyrdom and the Christanisation of Portuguese America."

58 Renato Cymbalista, "The Presence of the Martyrs," 298.

59 For an analysis of the centrality of vengeance in Tupi society see Eduardo Batalha Viveiros de Castro, *From the Enemy's Point of View*. Translated from the original *Araweté, o povo do Ipixuna* (São Paulo: 1992).

60 Métraux, *La religion des Tupinamba et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus Tupi-Guarani*.

Portuguese and Spanish territories, the French had two brief intervals in Brazil: France Antarctique, in present day Niteroi (Rio de Janeiro), and France Équinoxiale in Maranhão. The French were motivated by the allure of the exotic New World and its riches. The Tupi had fascinated French merchants since 1500.[61] While some Frenchmen viewed France Antarctique as a commercial or military post, others saw it as a refuge for the elect to escape persecution in Europe.[62]

José de Anchieta and Manuel de Nóbrega, the provincial, had barely arrived when they faced interference from the French. In 1555 a group led by the Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon (1510–1572) established France Antarctique. Jean de Léry, a lay artisan while in the colony and afterwards a minister, wrote what has become the standard account of the French settlement, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil, autrement dite Amérique* (1578).[63] Many French scholars have adopted Léry's version.[64] Léry's adventures after France Antarctique took him to battles in Lyons and Sancerre during the French Wars of Religion.[65] War delayed his writing on Brazil for eighteen years. When he finally wrote the history of the French colony, his experiences with the French Wars of Religion colored his view of Brazil. Publication also coincided with the

61 For more on the French involvement in Brazil prior to their colony, see Vasco Mariz and Lucien Provencal, *La Ravardière e a França Equinocial* (Rio de Janeiro: 2001), chapter 1.

62 Lestringant argues that the colony was a refuge and McGrath disagrees. Frank Lestringant, "Geneva and America in the Renaissance: The Dream of the Huguenot Refuge 1555-1600," trans. Ann Blair, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 26 (1995): 285–95; John McGrath, "Polemic and History in French Brazil, 1555-1560," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 27 (1996): 385–97.

63 Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil : autrement dite Amérique contenant la navigation, & choses remarquables veues sur mer par l'autheur* (La Rochelle: 1578). An English translations is Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America Containing the Navigation and the Remarkable Things Seen on the Sea by the Author; the Behavior of Villegagnon in That Country; the Customs and Strange Ways of Life of the American Savages; Together with the Description of Various Animals, Trees, Plants, and Other Singular Things Completely Unknown over Here*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley: 1992). .

64 Such as Jacques Auguste de Thou, *Histoire universelle de Jacques Auguste de Thou* (London: n.p., 1734); Lancelot de La Popelinière, *Les trois mondes de le seigneur de la Popelinière* (Paris: 1582); Théodore de Bèze, *Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées au royaume de France* (Paris: 1883-1889); Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la nouvelle France ...* 1602 (Paris: 1866). For more on this topic, see Silvia Shannon, "Military Outpost or Refuge?" in *Essays in French Colonial History*, (ed.) J. Johnston (East Lansing: 1997), 8.

65 The classic text on the French in Brazil is Frank Lestringant, *Jean de Léry ou l'invention du sauvage. Essai sur l' "Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil"* (Paris: 1999).

beginning of the Black Legend.[66] Scholars today, such as Léonce Peillard and John McGrath, have shown ways that Léry fabricated his *Histoire* in order to support the Huguenot cause during the Wars of Religion, as he was a minister of the Reformed religion when he wrote it.[67] For Léry, the Catholic Villegagnon was the culprit behind the colony's collapse when Villegagnon condemned three Protestants to death. Accompanying Villegagnon were André Thevet, a Franciscan priest and cosmographer, and Nicolas Barré, a learned Catholic man who wrote an account of their journey.[68] André Thevet had come with Villegagnon to establish Catholicism in the colony, yet he returned to France because of an illness only ten weeks after arrival, leaving the French colony bereft of spiritual guidance.

Villegagnon's disputes with colonists coupled with his initial tolerance of Protestants (and some even claim that he professed himself to be Protestant), and then later intolerance, caused many disputes in the short-lived colony. Villegagnon, after he returned to France, aligned himself in 1561 with his former Catholic patrons, the Guises. Villegagnon published many works when he returned to France, which could be seen as a *mea culpa* for his initial toleration of Protestants in Brazil and offer a Catholic perspective on the collapse of the colony. This corpus has largely been unstudied and offers insights into the pamphlet wars that ensued over the debates of the Eucharist. While Léry has been the focus on this short lived colony, future research would do well to incorporate new sources and perspectives.

The Jesuits were active in the area near the French fort and two were even taken into captivity by warring indigenous tribes. Anchieta wrote fourteen letters and two poems that offered some reflections on the French presence in the area. In his epic poem *De Gestis Mendi da Saa,* Anchieta wrote that "the generation of Calvin rejects with impiety the celestial nourishment, they do not even believe that the substance of the bread contains Christ."[69] We could conjecture that the French Calvinists who had deviated from the Catholic faith were more appalling to Anchieta than the indigenous pagans to whom the Good News had not yet reached.

66 McGrath, "Polemic and History," 386.

67 Léonce Peillard, *Villegagnon : Vice-Amiral de Bretagne, Vice-Roi du Brésil* (Paris: 1991), 138; McGrath, "Polemic and History."

68 André Thevet, *Le Brésil d'André Thevet: les singularités de La France Antarctique* (*1557*), (ed.) Frank Lestringant (Paris: 1997). Nicolas Barré, *Discours de Nicolas Barré sur la navigation du Chevalier de Villegagnon en Amérique* (Paris: 1558).

69 José de Anchieta, *De gestis Mendi de Saa: poema épico*, (eds.) Armando Cardoso, Obras Completas, Vol. 1 (São Paulo: 1986).

Even though the first French mission to Guanabara Bay failed, the French were not discouraged. Originally Henry IV was in charge of the second expedition to Brazil, France Equinoxial, but his assassination in 1610 left Marie de Medici in command. In 1611 she sent four Capuchin friars to accompany the expedition to Maranhão led by Daniel de la Touche de La Ravardière, a Protestant, and François de Razilly, a Catholic.[70] Razilly left the colony prematurely, possibly preventing a repeat of Guanabara Bay. The accounts of the Capuchins Claude d'Abbeville and Yves d'Evreux provide a rich picture of 17th century life.[71] In 1615 French support for Fort St. Louis ended. The Portuguese expelled the French shortly thereafter.

Spain was the next empire to try to control Brazil. In 1580 Spain took over the Portuguese crown, which extended Spanish jurisdiction into Portuguese overseas territories. King Philip II divided Brazil into two states: the State of Brazil with its capital in Salvador da Bahia, and the State of Maranhão with the capital of São Luís. Philip II also prohibited trade with the Low Countries, yet Dutch involvement in the sugar trade in Brazil did not cease. Because of the lucrative trade, the Dutch continued to construct sugar refineries in the Northern Netherlands.[72] This led to the Dutch invasion of Brazil in 1630. From 1580–1640, while the Iberian kingdoms were united under the crown of Castile, the Portuguese empire was in decline around the globe, leaving room for Dutch intervention. In 1640 Spain was weakened by the Thirty Years' War, the Catalan revolt of 1640, plague mortality, and trade depression, among other things.[73] The difficulties of Castile led to Portuguese separation. On December 1, 1640 the Portuguese revolted against the Castilian crown. The following day João, duke of Bragança, assumed the throne and declared Portugal's independence. The crown of Castile did not recognize João IV as king and the Portuguese and Castilians would contend for the Portuguese crown for the next twenty-eight years. The Spanish monarchs still wielded a large influence over Portugal. Moreover, the Inquisition had aligned with the Habsburgs in 1640.[74]

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70 Vasco Mariz and Lucien Provencal, *La Ravardière E a França Equinocial*, 67.

71 MacCormack, "Ethnography in South America: The First Two Hundred Years."

72 Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil: 1624–1654* (Oxford: 1957), 21.

73 John H. Elliott, "The Decline of Spain," *Past & Present* 20 (1961): 52–75; John H. Elliott, *The Revolt of the Catalans, a Study in the Decline of Spain, 1598–1640* (Cambridge: 1963); Henry Kamen, "The Decline of Spain: A Historical Myth?" *Past & Present* 81 (1978): 24–50; J. I. Israel, "The Decline of Spain: A Historical Myth?" *Past & Present* 91 (1981): 170–180.

74 Ronaldo Vainfas, "Guerra declarada e paz fingida na Restauração Portuguesa," *Tempo* 14, no. 27 (2009): 86.

Pope Urban VIII also did not recognize João IV as king (nor would the papacy recognize the crown of Braganza until Spain did in 1668).[75] This period in Brazil is documented in a recent collection of essays titled *O Brazil na Monarquia Hispânica.*[76]

The Dutch seized the opportunity to strike while Spain was losing its power and influence. The Jesuits and their missions suffered under the Dutch West India Company. The Counter-Remonstrant (or militant Calvinist) party of the Republic wished to renew war with Spain—economically if not militarily—by striking at Spanish and Portuguese colonies in South America and the West Indies. Supported by Calvinist refugees from the Spanish Netherlands, the charter *Octroy* established the Dutch West India Company in 1621.[77]

Religion played a role in the Company as the Dutch saw Brazil as part of the battle against Spain to gain ground for the Protestant faith. The Dutch, unlike the French, were well organized. Informed by the booming printing press in their homeland, their experiments in organizing a society of multiple confessions were, more or less, sorted out in the Dutch Republic. In 1630 the Dutch invaded Pernambuco and then conquered the northern portion of Brazil with their capital in present-day Recife. In 1630 the Dutch began to limit Catholic clerical activity. In 1636 the West India Company expelled the Jesuits from Dutch territory.[78] Count Johan Maurits of Nassau-Seigen, who served as Governor of Dutch Brazil from January 1637 to May 1644, bestowed upon Dutch Brazil the greatest degree of religious liberty in the Western world. It was a haven for New Christians, persecuted in the Old World, for which there is ample literature.[79] The Jews who migrated to Brazil were allowed to practice their faith freely. Maurits also tolerated Catholic worship. Religious tolerance,

75 Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *O Negócio do Brasil: Portugal os Países Baixos e o Nordeste 1641–1669* (Rio de Janeiro: 1998), 30.

76 Ana Paula Megiani, Kalina V. Silva, and J. Manuel Santos, (eds.), *O Brasil na Monarquia Hispânica* (*1580–1668*) (São Paulo: 2015).

77 Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil: 1624-1654*, 11. *Octroy, by de Hooghe Mogende Heeren Staten Generael verleent aende West-Indische Compagnie in date den derden Junij 1621* (The Hague: 1621).

78 Jonathan I. Israel and Stuart B. Schwartz, *The Expansion of Tolerance: Religion in Dutch Brazil* (*1624–1654*) (Amsterdam: 2007), 19; Schalkwijk states that the Jesuits were not actually expelled until 1636 at the Company's insistence. Schalkwijk, *The Reformed Church in Dutch Brazil*, 277.

79 Israel and Schwartz, *The Expansion of Tolerance: Religion in Dutch Brazil* (*1624–1654*); Anita Novinsky, *Cristãos novos na Bahia* (São Paulo: 1972).

however, was not wholesale. It was still illegal to practice the Catholic faith. Recent scholarship has advocated the term "confessional coexistence" instead of tolerance.[80] Despite it all, between 1630–1640 it is estimated that 10,000 Portuguese Brazilians migrated south to Bahia to escape the Dutch living in the North.[81] In 1639 the Dutch West India Company expelled sixty friars, who, as the Catholic hermit Father Manuel Calado do Salvador (1584–1654) reported, felt as though the Count broke his promise to the Catholic clergy of Brazil.[82] Manuel Calado is a rich source for Catholic life in Dutch Brazil, as is António Vieira, S.J.[83]

When Luso-Brazilian forces won Brazil back from the Dutch, most of the Tupi allied with the West India Company fled to the Ibiapaba mountains.[84] António Vieira, S.J. visited Ibiapaba in 1654 and called the area "La Rochelle" and the "Geneva of all the interior of Brazil."[85] Vieira then went to Portugal and insisted that the Jesuits had a role in securing the salvation of the Indians. In his instructions he included a mandate concerning the "reformation of those Brazilians who had been influenced by the Dutch."[86] The Jesuits in Ibiapaba worked to bring the native peoples of that region back into the Catholic fold.

4.7 Atlantic and Global History and the Missions

Brazil has long been known to Francophone and Lusophile historians, especially historians from the Annales tradition, such as Pierre and Huguette

80 Willem Frijhoff, *Embodied Belief: Ten Essays on Religious Culture in Dutch History* (Hilversum: 2002), 39–65.

81 Schalkwijk, *Reformed Church,* 276.

82 Frei Manoel Calado, *Valeroso Lucideno e triumpho da liberdade* (Lisbon: 1648), 52. Calado explains how the friars reacted to Nassau, believing he broke his promise.

83 Thomas M. Cohen, *The Fire of Tongues : António Vieira and the Missionary Church in Brazil and Portugal* (Stanford: 1998); Maria Ana Travassos Valdez, *Historical Interpretations of the Fifth Empire* (Leiden: 2011).

84 Ibiapaba mountain range is in the west of Ceará. There they formed a community, "Palmares of Indians," and gathered perhaps as many as 4,000 people. Schalkwijk, *Reformed Church,* 213.

85 António Vieira, *Obras escolhidas*, (eds.) Sérgio, António; Cidade, Hernâni, Colecção de Clássicos Sá da Costa (Lisbon: 1951), 5: 78, 81.

86 Vieira, *Obras,* 5: 83. "Considerando, porém, os padres que a sua primeira obrigação era acudir à reformação dos indios já baptizados, e que estes da serra tinham sido os primogénitos desta missão …"

Chaunu, Frédéric Mauro, and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho.[87] Chaunu, Mauro, and Godinho studied Atlantic economic systems, their trading networks, labor markets, and connected financial histories. Charles Boxer, Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, and Stuart Schwartz have greatly contributed to our understanding of the economic and political history of Brazil and Portugal.[88] A. J. R. Russell-Wood, Francisco Bethencourt, Diogo Ramada Curto, and Kirti Chaudhuri have produced excellent comprehensive overviews of the Portuguese empire.[89] In a turn away from the Annales school toward a cultural and religious history of Brazil, Stuart Schwartz, Laura de Mello e Souza, and Alida Metcalf have improved our understanding of conversion, popular culture, and go-betweens in Brazil.[90]

The religious history of Brazil, as it relates to Atlantic and Global history, requires further study. The concept of Atlantic History is essential for analyzing broader trends in the history of Christianity among Europe and Iberian, French, and Dutch territories. More recently, scholars have included Brazil within the fields of Atlantic history of the early modern Atlantic empires, but more work could be done in relation to the missions.[91] Thomas Cohen, Ana

87 Huguette Arbellot Chaunu and Pierre Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique, 1504–1650* (Paris: 1955); Frédéric Mauro, *Le Portugal et l'Atlantique au XVIIe siècle, 1570–1670: étude économique* (Paris: 1960); Frédéric Mauro, *L'expansion européenne, 1600–1870* (Paris: 1964); Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os descobrimentos e a economia mundial* (Lisbon: 1963).

88 C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825* (New York: 1969); Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, *O trato dos viventes*; Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society*.

89 A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: the Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808* (New York: 1993); Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto, *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800* (Cambridge; New York: 2007); Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, (eds.), *História da expansão portuguesa* (Lisbon: 1998), 5 vols.

90 Stuart B. Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven: 2008); Laura de Mello e Souza, *The Devil and the Land of the Holy Cross: Witchcraft, Slavery, and Popular Religion in Colonial Brazil* (Austin: 2003); Alida C. Metcalf, *Go-Betweens and the Colonization of Brazil, 1500–1600* (Austin: 2005).

91 Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault, *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500–1830* (Cambridge: 2009); Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan, *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (Oxford: 2009); Nicholas P. Canny and Philip D. Morgan, *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World, c.1450–c.1850*; Lauri Tähtinen, "The Ideological Origins of the Portuguese Empire in Brazil."

Valdez, Alcir Pécora, José Eisenberg, and Lauri Tähtinen worked to correct the imbalance as it relates to intellectual history and the Jesuits in Brazil.[92]

Recently Atlantic history has been encompassed in Global history, which seeks to decentralize European perspectives by widening the historical perspective both chronologically and geographically. Empires of Europe are studied alongside Chinese, Mughal, Ottoman, Russian, and many indigenous empires.[93] Mark Meuwese, David Richardson and Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, among others, have made Brazil part of a global study.[94] In terms of the missions, Luke Clossey studied the Jesuit network globally and compared the Society in Germany, Mexico and China.[95] Dauril Alden's *Making of an Enterprise,* places the Brazilian province within the context of the other Jesuit provinces of the Portuguese empire and explains the logistics of how these missions functioned as a global enterprise.[96]

The global study of empires analyzes the transmission of culture, of which religion is one aspect. Expansion transferred European cultures and concerns overseas and indigenous civilization to Europe. Christianity in China, Japan, and India, which has been well studied, looked quite different from Latin America, as the Jesuits sought to penetrate deeply, sympathize with, and negotiate with Asian cultures. They often began through converting lords, local rulers, or lower-rank officials. As Brazil had no indigenous rulers, the Jesuits sought a strategy from the bottom up, like in parts of China where they made converts among some peasants and artisans.[97] Ananya

92 Cohen, *The Fire of Tongues : António Vieira and the Missionary Church in Brazil and Portugal*; Maria Ana Travassos Valdez, *Historical Interpretations of the Fifth Empire*; Alcir Pécora, *Escritos Históricos e Políticos* (São Paulo: 1995); Eisenberg, *As Missões Jesuíticas;* Tähtinen, "The Ideological Origins of the Portuguese Empire in Brazil."

93 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500–1640," *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 5 (2007): 1359–85; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Civilizations : Culture, Ambition, and the Transformation of Nature* (New York: 2002).

94 Mark Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade: Dutch-Indigenous Alliances in the Atlantic World, 1595–1674* (Leiden; Boston: 2012); David Richardson and Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, *Networks and Trans-Cultural Exchange : Slave Trading in the South Atlantic, 1590–1867* (Leiden: 2015).

95 Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (New York: 2008).

96 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*.

97 Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*; Roberto de' Nobili, *Preaching Wisdom to the Wise: Three Treatises*, trans. Anand Amaladass, S.J. and Francis Clooney, S.J. (Saint Louis, MO: 2000).

Chakravarti worked to correct this imbalance with her comparative study of Jesuits in Brazil and India.[98]

4.8 Future Research

Historians of early modern Christianity have separated the missions from European Christianity by focusing on the people to be renewed or converted: Catholics, Protestants, and pagans. John O'Malley, among others, has shown that the study of the early modern Catholic Church must include reform, renewal and overseas missions simultaneously.[99] Robert Bireley, likewise, argues that a proper understanding of 16th-century Catholicism must take into account the missions, as well as the growth of state sovereignty, economic restructuring, the rise of Renaissance humanism, and the Protestant Reformation.[100] He calls for an all-encompassing approach to the "long" 16th century—a cry which has not yet been answered in Latin America.

One reason why Bireley's call has gone unanswered is because scholars separate the concerns of overseas missionaries and priests in Europe. This stems, in part, from the Council of Trent, which never mentioned the missionary Church in its eighteen-year history.[101] A second reason why scholars have separated European Catholicism and the missions is because missionaries had a millenarian outlook and sought to reconstruct the primitive church. While this is true, at the same time early modern religious figures did not conceive of a vast difference between missions (literally meaning "to be sent forth") to Europe and South America. Calling South America the "other indies," early modern Jesuits recognized that the same challenges were present around the world.

Protestantism was one challenge that Catholic priests faced in parts of Europe and Brazil. Most historians have dismissed the Protestant religious legacy in Brazil as inconsequential and thus, have not studied the effect that Protestants had on Catholic missions. Throughout the history of Dutch Brazil more than 50 Reformed ministers served in 22 congregations.[102] This was the

98 Ananya Chakravarti, "The Empire of Apostles: Jesuits in Brazil and India, 16th-17th C" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2012).

99 John O'Malley in *Trent and all that: renaming Catholicism in the early modern era* (Cambridge: 2000).

100 Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Washington, D.C: 1999).

101 John W. O'Malley, *Trent and all that,* 68.

102 Schalkwijk, *The Reformed Church in Dutch Brazil*, 68, 101.

first state-sponsored Protestant missionary endeavor anywhere in the world. Equally important is how the Protestant presence in Brazil shaped the experience of Catholic missionaries and the creation of a Catholic Brazilian society.[103] Take, for example, the case of slaves brought from West Africa. While some slaves converted to Catholicism before the arduous journey and life in captivity in Brazil, they did not necessarily follow Catholicism. Typically, they preferred whichever confession afforded them greater liberties, as evidenced in the Minutes of the Reformed Church.[104] This was an instance of pragmatic concerns, rather than faith, shaping confessional preference. The presence of Protestants in Brazil begs the question of how Catholic missions compared to Protestant missions in Brazil and throughout the Portuguese empire.[105]

Another aspect that has gone unnoticed in the historiography is the added challenge Protestants presented to the Catholic evangelization of the Tupi. Catholic priests, at times, had to evangelize differently in Brazil than in other places in Latin America because of the threat of Calvinists. Because the Reformed Church waged competition for souls in Brazil, Catholic priests imposed orthodoxy, in part, through preaching against Calvinists and Lutherans.[106] They understood that Catholic rituals and doctrine had to be enforced among indigenous peoples and colonists. The Dutch Brazil episode, therefore, is crucial to our understanding of the Catholic legacy that the Portuguese bequeathed to Brazil.[107] Were the Catholics who remained in Brazil more zealous in their faith because of the confessional tensions, or were they, at least, anti-Protestant? Danny Noorlander has shown how Brazil had its own Reformation in Dutch Brazil.[108]

Finally, while the Jesuits provide one model of Catholic missions, more of the story remains to be unearthed. The secular clergy and other religious orders have been eclipsed by the attention given to the Jesuits. If we are to portray an accurate picture of Catholicism in early modern Brazil, the Franciscan

103 Anne McGinness, "The Atlantic Reformation: How Confessional Conflict Affected Brazilian Society, 1554–1654" (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2013).

104 Classicale Acta van Brazilië, *Archief Voor de Geschiedenis Der Oude Hollandsche Zending II*, (ed.) J. A. Grothe (Utrecht: 1885).

105 Schalkwijk, *The Reformed Church in Dutch Brazil, 1630–1654*.

106 Anchieta, *Cartas, Informações, Fragmentos*; José de Anchieta, *Teatro de Anchieta*, (ed.) Armando Cardoso (São Paulo: 1977).

107 McGinness, "The Atlantic Reformation: How Confessional Conflict Affected Brazilian Society, 1554–1654."

108 Danny L. Noorlander, "Serving God and Mammon: The Reformed Church and the Dutch West India Company in the Atlantic World, 1621–1674"(PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2011).

archives is a place to start.[109] While not as organized as the Jesuit archives, the Franciscans made considerable inroads. We might ask, then, how did the Jesuit and Franciscan missions compare to each other? How did their art and architecture compete on the town squares in Salvador of Bahia, for instance?

4.9 Conclusion

The presence of a native population in addition to four colonial powers made the Brazilian missions distinctive in Latin America. European wars and civil wars were fought on Brazilian soil, compounding native conflict and bloodshed. Change in government regimes from Portuguese (with French interference) to Spanish, Dutch and then back to Portuguese rule contributed to instability, as different governments mandated religious changes. In the end, however, the Jesuits survived these regime changes, adapting as necessary. It was not other European powers but the Marques of Pombal in Portugal who ended the Jesuits' colonial missions. The Jesuits' landholdings, and the revenue generated from them in Brazil and the Amazon, among other factors, provided the rational that the Marques of Pombal needed to confiscate Jesuit land and expel the order from the empire in 1759.[110]

109 Nuno Senos, "Franciscan Art and Architecture in Colonial Brazil, 1650–1800" (PhD diss., New York University, 2006); Carlos Javier Castro Brunetto, *Franciscanismo y arte barroco en Brasil* (Tenerife: 1996).

110 Kenneth Maxwell, "The Spark: Pombal, the Amazon and the Jesuits," *Portuguese Studies* 17, no. Homage to Charles Boxer (2001): 168–83.

CHAPTER 5

New France[1]

Dominique Deslandres

5.1 Introduction

This paper is based on the archival and printed sources of travel and discovery of New France, with a focus on the famous *Jesuit Relations* and the letters of a no-less famous Ursuline nun, Marie Guyart de l'Incarnation. A product of the Jesuit tradition of sending letters from the mission field, launched in the 16th century by François Xavier and the first Jesuits,[2] the *Relations des Jésuites de la Nouvelle-France*, known as the *Jesuit Relations*, are the annual reports sent by the superior of the Jesuit missions in New France to the Provincial superior in France, between the years of 1611 and 1673. Along with the writings of major actors of the early French expansion in America – that is the founder of Quebec Samuel de Champlain's writings (published between 1603 and 1632), lawyer Marc Lescarbot's *History of New France* (1611 and 1612) and Recollect Gabriel Sagard's *The Grand Voyage* (1632) and *History of Canada* (1636), the missionary narratives are one of the major sources of information about French colonization in North America. In fact, without the *Relations*, large chapters of the whole North American colonial history would remain unknown. For her part, St Marie Guyart de l'Incarnation's writings are considered by the historians of Canada as

1 This chapter is translated by Marie-France Baveye.

2 John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1995 (1993). The Jesuit *Constitutions* imposed a regular correspondence between the missionaries and the Jesuit authorities. Thus, the world network of the Society of Jesus was tightly bound by personal accounts from the missions and the provinces sent to the father-general in Rome, whose team extracted meaningful observations to the benefit of all the members of the Society in a annual publication "Litterae annuae Societatis Jesu ad patres et fratres Ejusdem Societatis". In this context, if Pierre Biard's long letter from Port-Royal in Acadia in 1611 is properly speaking the first Relation, it is the decision of the Parisian Jesuit superior to publish for the general public Paul Le Jeune's account in 1632 that initiated the famous series of the "Relations de la Nouvelle-France" which appeared until 1672 at the king's printer Cramoisy.

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one of the most accurate sources on the French encounter with Amerindian cultures in 17th-century America.[3] Her thirty-three years spent in the French colony of New France as a missionary Ursuline nun and the lengthy and uncensored observations found in her second autobiography and very large correspondence (over 8000 letters) provide an interesting vision from within of the Canadian missionary frontier.

5.2 The State of Current Research and Desiderata for Future Directions of Research

While the 19th-century American interpretation of the missions of New France made it a place of conflict between Catholic absolutism and Protestant liberty (Parkman), French historians initially placed these missions in a providential historical context by insisting on the martyrs' heroism during the *mystical epic* of French expansion beyond its borders (Goyau) and by paying particular attention to the "missionary awakening of France" (Rousseau, Vaumas). These scholars displayed a frustratingly racist tendency to consider Amerindians as passive and inferior "Savages" that were part of the décor, like flora and fauna, and that Europeans had a duty to conquer, Christianize, and civilize, in short, to save. Then, thanks to the new religious history, discussion turned, during the 1980s and 1990s, to the close ties between missions within and outside of France (Delumeau, Venard, Deslandres 2003), with particular attention to the cultural nature of the encounters between missionaries and Amerindians as studied by ethnohistorians (Trigger, Axtell, Ronda, Jaenen, Jennings, Deslandres 2003, Greer 2005). The ambiguous role played by missions amidst the powerful combination of cultural-mixing policies and the expansion of French

3 Neither her autobiographies nor her letters were destined to publication and therefore they were not censored as were the famous *Jesuit Relations* by their Parisian publishers. Her autobiographies *Relation of 1633* and *Relation of 1654* are to be found in Albert Jamet (ed.) *Marie Guyart de l'Incarnation, Écrits spirituels et historiques* (*1626–1672*) Québec-Paris, Desclée/Les Ursulines de Québec, (1929) facsimile 1985, 2 vol. (hereafter cited as R1633 and R1654). The letters in Guy Oury, (ed.) *Marie de l'Incarnation. Correspondance*, Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1971 (hereafter cited as MI) and a choice of letters in Mary Dunn, *From mother to son: the selected letters of Marie de l'Incarnation to Claude Martin* (Oxford: 2014), Reuben G. Thwaites, (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* Cleveland: Burrows, 1897, 73 vol. (hereafter JR). This collection was revised and completed by Lucien Campeau, (ed.) *Monumenta Novae Franciae* (Rome-Québec: 1967–2003), 9 vol.

sovereignty in America during the first globalization has only recently been brought to light (Aubert, Belmessous, Havard, 2003, Deslandres, 2013, White 1991, White 2013). Throughout this process, female *agency* is in itself remarkable as it emerges as the major characteristic differentiating French missions from those of other colonial countries.

It is impossible to discuss the French missions among the Amerindians during the 17th century without first placing them within the political and religious context of the first globalization that saw their birth and development. Thus, this chapter, which is largely based on sources from that period, first recalls the history of the missions in various parts of New France, and then highlights two distinct aspects of French missions under the Old Regime. The first of these two aspects is that the French missions distinguished themselves from missions of other Catholic countries through the crucial role played by women in the evangelizing process: not only did French women support the conversion movement with prayers and money, but they also, for the first time in history, became missionaries among the Amerindian, especially among Amerindian women who were specifically targeted by France's religious and political project. The second aspect that distinguished missions in New France from others is their intrinsic connection to the French ideology of territorial sovereignty. Indeed, the extension of French sovereignty was less a matter of military conquest of new territories than of the formation of alliances with the peoples inhabiting them. As ruler of the most populous, and thus the most powerful, country in Europe, the French king's primary objective was to rule over the greatest number of subjects possible, and by the feudal relationship thus established—and confirmed by the conversion to Christianity—to appropriate the land lawfully possessed by these new subjects.

5.3 History of the Missions in New France

The territory of New France consisted of three geographic entities: Acadia (the Atlantic coast and the northern islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence), Canada (the St. Lawrence River Basin), and Louisiana (the Mississippi River Valley). But to most historians, New France, discovered by Jacques Cartier in 1534, has long been confined to the St. Lawrence River Valley. This despite the fact that Acadia first appeared as the most promising location for the French establishment and the first mission efforts, which had the peculiarity of having been initiated by lay people. In Acadia, the head of the colony of Port Royal, Jean Poutrincourt, entrusted in 1610 the lawyer Marc Lescarbot and the secular priest Jessé

Fléché with this task among the indigenous Acadians, the Mi'kmaq. It was a long-term plan of gentle assimilation through good neighborly relations.[4] This reflects a particular view of evangelization—one neither tepid nor intense—which, though undoubtedly the most prevalent at that time, was quite distant from the disciplined approach touted by the regular orders, which were then France's mission specialists. But this attempt was short-lived, as the Jesuits soon arrived to "rein in" the colony. Animated by unwavering zeal, they severely controlled the colonists' behavior and scrutinized the authenticity of Mi'kmaq conversions. It can indeed be said that, with the arrival of Jesuits Pierre Biard and Ennemond Massé in 1611, the French version of Tridentine discipline took root in America. From that point on, only the religious could lead missions outside of France and any devoted laity wishing to be involved in the conversion effort could only do so by following their orders. Although the Jesuit mission was destroyed in 1613 by a Virginian raid, their approach endured.

It was in this context that the Recollects were chosen by Samuel de Champlain in 1615 to begin missionary work among the nomadic peoples of the St Lawrence Valley. The *Habitation* of Québec, founded in 1608, served as their base.[5] The Indigenous people of this region roamed their territory in small patrilineal groups during the winter hunting season, stopping in summer to cultivate corn and to trade with the French, whom they drew into a military alliance against their Iroquois enemies. The missionaries soon discovered the existence of sedentary peoples in the Great Lakes region that seemed to them much better suited for conversion to Christianity. The Huron, a nation of the Iroquoian language group, were semi-sedentary and matrilineal; and they controlled the fur trade in the western regions. The Recollects concluded that they first needed to "humanize" the First nations, by which they meant turning them into French people before converting them. The Recollect mission, reinforced by the arrival of the Jesuits in 1625, was, however, destroyed when the English forced Québec to surrender in 1629. It was not until 1632, when

4 Marc Lescarbot, *La conversion des sauvages qui ont esté baptisés en la Nouvelle France*, (Paris, Jean Millot, 1610) and *Relation dernière* (Paris, Jean Millot, 1612) (both translated in R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Cleveland, Burrows, 1896–1901 ... vol.1:55–113 and vol.2: 123–191) and *History of New France* (Paris, 1612) (eds.) Henry P. Biggar et al, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1907, 3 vol.

5 Henry P. Biggar (ed.), *The work of Samuel de Champlain* (Toronto:1922–1936), 6 vol; Gabriel-Théodat Sagard, *The long Journey to the Country of the Hurons* (Paris: 1632), bilingual edition (Toronto: 2013), 2 vol.; and *Histoire du Canada* (1636) (Paris: 1866), 4 vol. Chrestien Le Clercq, *Premier Établissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France* (Paris: 1691), 2 vol.

England returned the colony to France, that colonization and evangelization recommenced, though not as before: the Recollects did not return, while the Jesuits took over the mission in the Laurentian Valley and the Capuchins settled in Acadia.[6] Little is known of the Capuchin's mission among the Acadian Mi'kmaq as it was not well documented. The few remaining primary sources reveal that it mirrored the Capuchin missions in the French Antilles, in that they suffered the consequences of both infighting within the Capuchin order and civil war in the colony. The Capuchins erected a number of residences in Port Royal, St. John, Penobscot, LaHave, Miscou and Canso, as well as missions in today's Maine. Like other missionaries at that time, they were convinced of the need to "civilize" the First Nations to bring them to conversion. They thus invited them to abandon their nomadic lifestyle, to move closer to the French settlements and to send their children to French schools, such as the one founded in 1644 by Madame de Brice in Port Royal. Overall, however, their success at converting Amerindians to Christianity seems to have been quite limited.[7]

The Jesuit missions in the Laurentian Valley have received greater attention. Their story, which was wonderfully documented in their famous *Relations*, is full of adventure, discovery and illustrious martyrs. Forming the basis of Canadian historiography, they continue to feed the knowledge of archeologists, anthropologists, and historians. The French authorities initial project was to marry converted Amerindians with the French in order to create one people that would combine the qualities of both nations. For this, the Jesuits, led by Mission Superior Paul Le Jeune, invited Hospitaller and Ursuline nuns to Québec in 1639 to establish the foundations of a new society, one without the shortcomings of old France. By providing healthcare and education, these women were to encourage the Amerindians to convert and marry French settlers, in order to create one Franco-Christian people.[8] This plan did not materialize. The Jesuits quickly recognized the "bad" influences (especially alcoholism) of the French, and, in order to protect their Amerindian flock, they reduced and controlled French access to Indian Amerindian countries and

6 Reuben G. Thwaites, (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland: 1896–1901), 73 vol. Here-after JR.

7 Ignace de Paris, "Relation de 1656," in Candide de Nant, *Pages glorieuses de l'épopée canadienne* (Paris: 1827), 305–311.

8 Jeanne-Françoise Juchereau de la Ferté and Marie-Andrée Régnard Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène, *Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, 1636–1716* (Québec: 1984); Marie Morin, *Histoire simple et véritable* (annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal) (Montréal: 1979); Marie (Guyart) de l'Incarnation, *Correspondance*, (ed.) G.-M. Oury (Solesmes: 1971).

missions and altogether abandoned the civilization or properly "Francisation" process. Consequently very few mixed marriages were realized at the altar over the course of the century. Indeed, the Amerindians—already greatly reduced in number due to epidemics and wars with the Iroquois—did not convert *en masse* nor did they adopt the French language and customs as planned.

In the St. Lawrence Valley, which could be considered their missionary laboratory, the Jesuits experimented with three types of missions: itinerant missions, missions in the vicinity of the French, and missions among the sedentary Amerindians. The first type, called "flying missions", involved a Jesuit following the tribe he wished to convert. They were successful despite the fears they initially aroused. They opened the American territory to the French in several directions—from the Lac St. Jean region and Gaspésie to New England, the upper Mauricie and the West. By following the nomadic Amerindians on their hunts or meeting them at trade locations like Tadoussac, the Jesuits managed to create an itinerant, diversified and lasting Church.

The second type of mission aimed to sedentarize the Amerindians and was to be facilitated by a complete socio-religious welfare system, as understood by the French in this post-Tridentine era, here summarized by Paul LeJeune in 1639: "Here are four great works bound together by a single tie: the settlement of the Savages, the Hospital, the Seminary for little Savage boys and the seminary for little Savage girls. These last three depend upon the first. Let these barbarian remain always nomads - then their sick will die in the woods, and their children will never enter the seminary. Render them sedentary, and you will fill these three institutions, which all need to be vigorously aided."[9] Thus, Sillery was created near Québec City in 1637, a *reduction* based on the model of those in Paraguay. The initiative was strengthened in 1640 with the erection of a hospital run by the Hospitaller nuns of the Mercy of Jesus. There, social order and great religious fervor were maintained by Amerindian leaders elected by the converts. Despite the high expectations it inspired, the experiment was still eventually a relative failure. The Amerindians involved—mostly Montagnais-Innus and Algonquin nomads—abandoned the location, especially during the winter hunts. Furthermore, the looming Iroquois threat on the small colony was so great that the Hospitallers had to settle within the walls of Québec in 1644. Besides, alcohol was rampant and land clearing hardly progressed. In the 1660s, the *Relation*s become increasingly laconic with regards to Sillery, which, by the end of the century, was hardly Amerindian at all. In Trois-Rivières, founded in 1634, there were also attempts to settle the

9 JR XVI: 33 (LeJeune: 1639).

Algonquian nomads—Algonquins, Attikamegues, Iroquets, and Montagnais-Innus. In this trade outpost, however, the beginnings were difficult: epidemics, the constant itinerancy of the tribes, and difficult relations with Amerindians who were divided between converts and non-converts. But the Christian clan eventually gained ground in 1650 and the number of converts grew. The Amerindian village in which, according to witnesses, "peace, calm and piety" reigned, found itself included within the town of Trois-Rivières. In the end, the experiment, once so promising, did not last long. After 1660, the *Relations* makes no more mention of it, perhaps because the Amerindians moved to Cap-de-la-Madeleine to create a new community, which lasted 10 or 12 years before they moved again. Finally, a third mission focusing on the settlement of the Amerindians was planned in 1642 in nascent Montréal, one of the most dangerous places of that time.[10] Despite great effort in "this place bordering the Iroquois", the Amerindian allies hardly settled in Montréal, using it instead as "a temporary retreat rather than a place of residence". As a result, few "fruits" of the missionary labor were won there before the French-Iroquois peace treaty of 1701. All in all, the project of having French and Amerindian cohabitate "under one same discipline, practicing a Christian life" was not realized according to the wishes of its instigators.

The third type of mission was established in Huronia following the first French contact with the semi-sedentary Huron. It seemed immediately more promising. As demonstrated by Bruce G. Trigger, the Huron country, located on the south shore of Georgian Bay, was a major trade center as well as the gateway to the Great Lakes region. The Jesuits, whose presence was a key element to trade and military alliances between the French and the Huron, returned to Huronia in1634, regaining some of the followers they had had to abandon when the English conquered Canada in1629. In Huronia, they improved their knowledge of the language and customs; they established permanent missions in different villages as well as an exemplary missionary center in Sainte-Marie Among the Huron—near present-day Midland. The center was completely destroyed by the Iroquois in the 17th century only to be reconstructed as a historic site in the twentieth century

Despite significant obstacles, the Jesuits finally won the respect of some Amerindians. Over the course of 16 years, they succeeded in baptizing about 10,000 Amerindians. It is nevertheless difficult to evaluate the number of converts since most of them died after baptism and, except for urgent cases, only

10 *Les véritables motifs de Messieurs et Dames de la Société de Notre Dame de Monréal pour la conversion des Sauvages de la Nouvelle France*, (sl, 1643) 26–27, 106.

those able to prove the steadfastness of their faith to the Jesuits were baptized. They formed the backbone of a solid Amerindian Christian community. There was a rapid increase in the number of baptisms from 1647 at a time when the traditional points of reference of Huron society were disintegrating—a result of deadly epidemics, the tragic division between converts and non-converts, and repeated attacks by the Iroquois. The Iroquois finally destroyed the Huron Nation in 1649 and assassinated eight missionaries; the latter, considered martyrs by their contemporaries, were canonized in 1930. The refugees dispersed: some joined the western tribes, some followed the Jesuits to Québec, and some formed a group of Christian captives living among the Iroquois. Indeed, when, by virtue of a peace agreement in 1653, Jesuit Simon Le Moyne traveled to Iroquoia, he was surprised to discover a group of nearly 1,000 Christianized Huron forcibly integrated into the five Iroquois nations. The Gannantaha mission was then created alongside "this poor captive Church" and among the Iroquois themselves. It was able to expand to such a degree that the Jesuits were able to establish a missionary center, Sainte-Marie-among-the-Iroquois, modeled on the Huron mission. All was abruptly halted when the truce was broken in 1658.

Worth noting here is the degree to which the Canadian missions' internal objectives and organization were influenced by the experience gained during the missions carried out within France—in the interior "black Indies" as the Jesuit authorities called them. Within the country as well as abroad, the missionary frame of mind led them to consider the vices that they stigmatized among their contemporaries as fruits of religious ignorance and their mission as a war against the work of the devil. Despite adaptations necessitated by the Amerindian reality, the Jesuits utilized the same approaches that they—along with other orders and missionary congregations—had been accustomed to using in France. For example, the Canadian Jesuits' talent for observation so often praised, is today of inestimable worth as an ethnographic resource. Their twofold concern of assessing the situation and surveying the religious sentiment of the people they met was a practice shared by all missionaries, at home in France as well as abroad; they all followed Francois Xavier's recommendation to "skillfully inquire about the values", the "vices and virtues" unique to the potential converts. Every missionary active within France—from Bishop Francois de Sales reflecting on the situation in Thonon, to Jesuit Julien Maunoir considering Brittany and its islands, and Capuchin Chérubin of Maurienne implementing his plan for a missionary center to further the spiritual conquest of Savoy—all were attentive observers of the people they worked to bring into the Catholic Church. In so doing they also gathered precious information, which, like the Jesuits' *Relations*, is still useful today to French ethno-history.

Furthermore, the same concern of *captatio benevolentiae* motivated the missionaries on either side of the Atlantic. The assortment of tactics employed with regards to this concern in New France is recorded in this shared desire to "edify well and gently captivate."[11] It is why, as in France, the missionaries preached Tridentine Catholicism through example: their behavior conformed to the content of their preaching, the affable discipline of their teaching and the reassuring cohesion of their doctrine, as well as the material assistance they provided for their flock, allowing them to commend themselves "to the Savages, to induce them to receive our holy Faith," their home visits, their small gifts to the catechumens and their efforts to pique curiosity (through writing, images, and technology) were all factors aiming to draw the interest of their interlocutors and, through the sympathy that they attracted, to create a favorable impression of their religion.[12]

As in France, the arrival of missionaries was an opportunity to showcase a triumphant, if not impressive, religion. Everything had to contribute to this image, on both a daily basis—with Christian gestures, prayer recitations, distribution of religious iconography, singing of hymns—and on special occasions—with the pomp of ceremonies and processions and the unequivocal support of the French military. Furthermore, missions were where priests triumphed in showing the superiority of their faith over the other belief systems. In France as in New France, they had to undermine the credibility of other religious leaders, whether they were Amerindian or Protestant. As such, the missionaries took great pains to reason with Amerindians bestowed with religious power, to ridicule the obstinate in front of their followers, to provoke their "rout", and, in doing so, they mirrored the techniques used in the struggle against Protestantism. As Jean de Brébeuf wrote: "We have two or three of this number in our village. I am often in conflict with them; and then I show them they are wrong, and make them contradict themselves, so that they frankly admit their ignorance, and the others ridicule them."[13] On the

11 François Xavier, Letter to Gaspard Barzé … in C. Borromée, *Instructions aux Confesseurs …* (Toulouse: 1648), 187. See for example, François de Sales, "Letter to duke Charles-Emmanuel 1st 29 dec. 1595," in *Oeuvres* (Annecy: 1892–1964) XI: 168–171. Chérubin de Maurienne's plan was described by Charles de Genève in F. Tisserand, (ed.), *Les Trophées sacrés*, Lausanne, 1976, I: 84–86, 92, II: 117, III: 215, 326–329; Gabriel. T. Sagard, *Histoire du Canada* (1636) (Paris: 1866) I: 42–43. C. Le Clercq, *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: 1691) I: 89.

12 JR VI: 145–147 (LeJeune: 1634), see also XI: 41 (LeJeune: 1637); XXIV: 267–269 (Vimont: 1642–43) Sagard, *Voyage*, 32–33, 61, 163–4, 173 and *Histoire*, 204–5, 230, 330.

13 JR VIII: 147 (Brebeuf: 1635)

other hand, having realized that the sorcerers' influence was also tied to their healing virtues, the missionaries tried to "miraculously" save those who had been deemed incurably ill by these "magicians" in order to "open these poor gentiles' eyes." This carried the risk of being themselves seen as magician, as was common practice during the same period among the Breton missionaries who presented themselves as "sorcerers of God."

This effort to seduce and captivate explains the concern of adapting to all audiences, to all socioeconomic conditions. Ritual gestures, simple and familiar speech expressed in vernacular language, pictorial representation, even the theatricality of the religious *momentum*, had to explain and even translate to the most "simple" of people the advantages of submission to the reassuring era introduced by Christianity, in the idealized version propounded by the Council of Trent. In a typical manner, Jean de Brébeuf describes a catechism session in terms that could very well have been used by Francois de Sales or by Chérubin of Maurienne, or even by any other missionary of that time. The scene is complete: the use of a little bell to call the catechumens, the "surplice and the square cap, to give more majesty to the priest's appearance", the hymns, the *Our Father* translated into vernacular, a summary of the previous lesson, questions accompanied by small gifts—which in Huronia consisted of "a little bead of glass, or porcelain to those who deserved it"—and by the pride of parents "very glad to see their children answer well and carry off some little prize"; and even the use of little French boys to arouse the Amerindians' emulation, who retrace each lesson and "who question each other; which transports the Savage in admiration."[14]

Thus, the conversion tactics and objectives used by missionaries in France and New France were remarkably similar. Based on strategies delineated by the Council of Trent, this cohesion allows for a better understanding of the Canadian Jesuits' actions, which appear to be perfectly aligned with the procedures for socio-religious integration developed in France during the first half of the 17th century. Nevertheless, after so much time and effort spent among the Amerindians, "Frenchification" and conversion results were rather meager. The Amerindians from Sillery proved to be impossible to sedentarize—in 1675, they traveled to Chicoutimi where they established another *reduction*; the Algonquins who were supposed to form the core of the Trois-Rivières mission established themselves elsewhere; in Montréal, Amerindians came only rarely when seeking refuge from the Iroquois; and finally, within the walls of

14 JR VIII: 143–147 (Brebeuf: 1635).

Quebec, survived what was left of the Huron nation that had been decimated in 1650, before they eventually undertook further migrations.

The Church's influence in New France was at its strongest when its mission among the Amerindians faltered. The institutions—schools, hospitals—meant to attract them towards the Christian faith now exclusively served the colonists. The missions certainly carried on, but the majority of the Church's financial and human resources from that point on benefitted the French, the number of which increased following a period of economic growth—by 1650, the French finally outnumbered the Amerindians in the Laurentian Valley. This perspective shift led to the consolidation of the colonists' Church, a Church that was the result of an unprecedented missionary fervor—some have even referred to a true *mystical epic*. This religious enthusiasm, which went as far as martyrdom, allowed for the extremely rapid establishment of an entire educational and charitable system whose goals were primarily missionary but also colonialist. The Jesuit College was founded in 1635, one year before Harvard, the Sillery *reduction* in 1637, the Ursuline convent and the Hôtel-Dieu hospital in Québec in 1639, the "mad undertaking" of Ville Marie in 1642 that eventually founded Montréal: these were all established while the missions continued their work among the Amerindians. Initially conceived to promote Amerindian conversion, this socio-religious framework served instead as the foundation for the French Church. Inspired by the model of the early Church, the intention was to create a "Jerusalem blessed by God, composed of citizens destined for Heaven."[15] This explains why religious norms were quite stringent for the times and why religious leaders, inspired by the reforms of the Council of Trent, were extremely motivated to uphold them.

The Jesuits thus played a crucial role in the country, one that was eventually deemed excessive. As spiritual directors to the governors, who were for the most part devotees, they witnessed a consolidation in their powers when their superiors were named to the Colonial Council. Furthermore, their investments—nearly 20% of the colonial budget from 1626 to 1655—aided the development of, even the survival of, the French presence, which grew from a simple trading post to a real colony. The Jesuits even imported workers to clear the *seigneuries'* lands, granted to them by the Crown, in order to attract peasants. Linguists, ethnographers, historians, hydrographers, geographers, and explorers of new lands, protected by alliances with the Amerindians, they promoted educational and charity institutions and also served as priests to the colonists. These missionaries deployed a multifaceted and multidirectional

15 JR VII: 273 (LeJeune: 1635).

approach. But they were not alone in building the new country, they were supported by both laypeople and nuns. A number of French devotees thus financed their colonial work and often, during the 1630s and 1640s, the survival of the colony itself depended on these donations. Some were involved body, soul, and wealth, such as Madame de La Peltrie, secular founder of the Ursulines, or Paul de Maisonneuve, the first governor of Montréal, the missionary city founded by French laypeople members of the very secret *Compagnie du Saint Sacrement*. This devotion also occupied the less wealthy, who participated in evangelization as interpreters, as *donnés,* or as simple catechists. Nuns also collaborated in the conversion effort. Ultimately, when the Amerindians came in fewer numbers to their doors, these religious women reoriented their efforts towards the colomnists' daughters.

The Church in New France was thus initially missionary-oriented, under the Jesuit Superior's authority. Indeed, until the end of the 1650s the Jesuits' religious monopoly was nearly absolute, controlling the Laurentian Valley colonists' fates and embarking on the exploration of the rest of North American in search of ever more peoples to convert and missions to establish. Things changed with the arrival of the secular Sulpician priests in 1657 in Montréal and the establishment of Francois de Laval, in 1658 as Vicar Apostolic—Laval founded the Seminary of Québec (which he tied to the Parisian Seminary of Foreign Missions) and became the first bishop of New France in 1674.

Among the secular clergy, two communities of priests distinguished themselves: the Sulpicians, who were the lords of the island of Montréal and who dedicated themselves to the parochial ministry, to teaching in the little schools, and to the evangelization of the Amerindians; and the members of the Québec Seminary, dedicated to teaching and to missionary work among the Illinois and in Acadia. These two eminently Tridentine groups came to support the regular clergy which was composed of, on the one hand, Jesuits who thrived in the *mystical epic* missions and whose influence remained considerable, and, on the other hand, the Recollects who initiated the Laurentian Valley missions from 1615 to 1629, and who returned to the missionary field after an absence of nearly fifty years. It is due to these missionaries that the French were able to meet the peoples of the Great Lakes region, of the Illinois country (the Upper Mississippi), and from there, the entire territory between the Pacific and Arctic Oceans on one side and the Gulf of Mexico on the other.

That being said, although it was the heart of the small colony, the city of Québec long remained a simple trading post. With time, the French settled the banks of the river, despite raids against their Amerindian allies by the five Iroquoian nations and despite the terrible epidemics that rapidly decimated the Amerindians who lacked natural immunities against European diseases.

This put the lives of the missionaries in peril, as the Amerindians quickly tied the French presence among them to the emergence of these diseases, which led them to accuse the missionaries of being "sorcerers" who were secretly trying to kill them off. Actually, until the Great Peace Treaty of Montreal, signed in 1701, the geopolitical and religious situation remained precarious for the French and their allies, amidst epidemics, wars, risks related to trading, very weak immigration, and the instability of the missions. Furthermore, after the signing of the Great Peace Treaty, the Jesuits lost their ambassadorial role among the Amerindians when the royal power sought to reduce the control they exercised over both the French and the Amerindians in the colony. Thus, when, at the turn of the 18th century, the Mississippi Basin was "discovered" for the king of France, the Jesuits were forced to share their missionary territory with the Capuchins and with secular priests from the Québec Seminary. Two new regions were thus evangelized by the French: Louisiana and the Upper Mississippi. Biloxi in 1699, Mobile in 1702, and New Orleans in 1718 were established and depended on the Bishopric of Québec. In fact, the establishment of Christianity is described as being hardly uplifting in this part of America. Among the reasons for this were the jurisdictional squabbles between the Jesuits and the priests from the Québec Seminary who found themselves targeting the same Amerindians in the Upper Mississippi. And, in Louisiana, the already small clergy, who also suffered from infighting and from a general lack of direction, had to confront the indifference, if not open hostility, of the majority of the 4,100 colonists with regard to religion and to the Church, as well as having to confront the chronic lack of funds that kept them from pursuing their work among both the indigenous population and the African slaves—the latter being a new and ambiguous element in the equation.

5.4 The Missions, the Fusion of the People, and the Expansion of French Sovereignty

The strategy of forming a single French and Amerindian people has long been scorned by historians due to its ending in failure. Yet scrutinizing the history of this failure helps to understand how the French Crown succeeded in expanding and maintaining its sovereignty over almost all of North America during the first globalization of the modern era. It helps to recognize how "making one people" was not only at the heart of the policies of subjection promoted by both the French Crown and Church, but it also conditioned the *horizon d'attente*—the limits of expectations - and the realm of experience of the French. In brief, the goal of forming "one people" dictated their encounters with the *Other*. This

is why we must consider with attention this plan, for miscegenation was a key tool for empire building, thus extending French dominion over lands neither conquered nor bought.

In America as in Europe, French territorial appropriation was conceived to operate through the feudal subjection of the inhabitants who were supposed to submit—soul, mind, and body—to both the Crown and the Church. The process aimed to transform Amerindians into French subjects and their lands into French possessions, drawing on the feudal idea that power over people produced power over territories. The greater the number of subjects, the more powerful the king. From Jean Bodin's famous comment of 1577, "One must never worry that there are too many subjects, too many citizens, as there is no wealth, no strength, equal to that of men" to the comment, no less famous, by Sebastien Le Prestre de Vauban in 1686 stating that, " The greatness of kings is measured by the number of subjects", all agreed in saying that the primary and principal wealth of the State was its people and even, as Jacques Bénigne Bossuet wrote at the turn of the century, "The multitude of peoples is the king's dignity."[16] This explains why France's interest was to increase the number of its "*peuples*", either by promoting the demographic growth of its territories through pro-birth measures during the 1500s through the 1670s, by naturalizing foreigners within its borders, or by acquiring new subjects outside its frontiers. The French Crown was indeed much more interested in incorporating the "infinite number of peoples"[17] discovered in America than it was in reigning over lands albeit large and rich but emptied of inhabitants. This counters the myth, invented in the 19th ᵗcentury, that the notion of *terra nullius* served the French to legitimate their conquests of American soil.

Such a mentality transpired through what seem to be ready-made formulas and platitudes included in the preambles of all edicts and commissions concerning the colonial projects of that period. For example, the lieutenant general for New France, Isaac de Razilly echoed this notion: it was intended, according to him, to ensure that "all inhabitants of the terrestrial globe pay homage to the

16 Bodin, *République*, Livre v, 799 see also livre iv, 589. Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban, *Méthode generalle et facile pour faire le dénombrement des Peuples* (Paris: 1686), 14. Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, *Politique tirée des propres paroles de l'Écriture sainte* (Paris: 1709), 26.

17 Paul Le Jeune au Cardinal de Richelieu, 1ᵉʳ août 1635, *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, (ed.) Lucien Campeau (Québec: 1987), here-after MNF, here MNFIII: 22. While the missionaries collected souls to convert, the administrators were interested in the number of potential subjects and allies. *Mémoire de Talon au roi sur le Canada* [2 octobre 1671], (ANOM), COL C11A 3/fol.171rv

three fleurs-de-lys."[18] A bit later, Cardinal Richelieu expanded on this same sentiment with regards to the Amerindians.[19] Such an attitude is also found in the rituals of territorial appropriation and in the other tactics employed by the Crown to transform these *Others* into French people, that is into *francs sujets* of the French king. This explains, on the one hand, the clause claiming all baptized Amerindians as "French naturals" and, on the other, the intention to mix French and Amerindian—a fusion that required mixed marriages and sedentarization. As we shall see, gender and religion played fundamental roles in these political strategies.

Research has shown that the *Others,* strange as they appeared, could easily assimilate into French society in the 16th and 17th centuries, on condition that they be baptized in the Catholic faith. Baptism was indeed the *sine qua non* condition for receiving a letter of naturalization in the kingdom of the *Most Christian king*. Marriage would complete the process allowing the convert to enter—duly subscribing to the gendered relationships particular to the French of that time—into a family and its network without which an individual had no worth. Naturalization, or "Frenchification" as it was called, was thus sustained by two sacraments deemed essential to the solidarity of the social body understood within the monarchic and patriarchal context as a family of families, with the king as the father of all, and fathers as kings ruling their families. The two sacraments were therefore firmly upheld by both the Catholic reformation and the French state during the Old Regime.

During this era, when an abundant population was the basis for a state's military and financial power, the French Crown was constantly concerned with increasing the number of its subjects —or *regnicoles*—a quest that manifested itself through the naturalization of strangers, even the strangest of strangers, and through the annexation of entire regions through alliances and wars. In this context, a question arose: how can America be colonized without at the same time depopulating France?[20] It was simple: by seeking unification with the nations already populating the new lands. This inclusive directive issued from the Crown was quickly coupled with the universalist principle of the Roman Church after the Council of Trent: while one was interested in winning nationals, good and loyal subjects to the king of France, the other aimed at

18 Léon Deschamps, (ed.) *Isaac de Razilly, Mémoire* (1622) (Paris: 1887), 15–16.

19 Acte d'établissement de la Compagnie des Cent Associés … (29 avril 1627) in Robert S. Milnes, (ed.) *Edits, ordonnances royaux et arrêts du Conseil d'État du Roi, concernant le Canada* (Québec: 1803) I: 1.

20 Jean-Baptiste Colbert to Jean Talon 5 October 1665 *Archives nationales d'outre-mer* (ANOM), COL C11A 2/fol.199–206v. Talon to Colbert, 4 October 1665, *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la province de Québec* (1930–1931), 36; Colbert à Talon, 5 January 1666, *Ibid.,* 41.

winning souls, all the souls. This guided the work of missionary orders and civil authorities in the French countryside as well as in the new territories acquired both within and outside of Europe.

In New France, the missionaries initially marched hand in hand with the colonial authorities in the project of creating one unified people. They first sought to convert the Amerindians to both the Christian faith and French civilization. Samuel de Champlain who acted as governor of New France without ever officially receiving the title, wrote to the French king that, by mixing with the Amerindians, the French would "teach the people the knowledge of God, and inform them of the glory and triumphs of your Majesty, so that together with the French language they may also acquire a French heart and spirit, which, next to the fear of God, will be inspired with nothing so ardently as the desire to serve you."[21] For Champlain, one means for growing the population was not mass immigration but rather the conversion of Amerindians to the Christian faith and their learning to live like the French colonists who would marry their daughters.[22] The missionaries were also committed to the ideal of "one people", which meant to them "one Catholic people", and they promoted naturalization through baptism, Christian marriage, and "*l'arrêt des Sauvages*"—that is, to counter nomadism, they established missions built along the model of the South American *reductions*. Until now, historians have not considered this process through the double lenses of gender and religion.

At the beginning of the 17th century, civil and religious authorities united to promote naturalization through baptism. The expansion of the French kingdom was thus closely associated with the *dilatatio regnum Dei*. Provision XVII of the Charter of the Company of the One Hundred Associates, created in 1627, indeed stipulated that the French who would live in Canada would remain French, and that their descendants and baptized Amerindians would become "French naturals": all should be legally treated as natural-born French subjects and accorded the same rights. The Amerindians who converted to Catholicism could "come live in France when they would like, and acquire, test, inherit, and accept donations and legacies, as all true *regnicoles* and natives of France."[23] Notice that the Crown thus used to its benefit the imperatives of

21 Biggar, (ed.) *Champlain*, III, 6 (1615–1618).

22 Biggar, (ed.) *Champlain*, IV, 145–146, 321–322 (1632).

23 Article XVII "l'Acte pour l'établissement de la Compagnie des Cent Associés pour le Commerce du Canada, contenant les articles accordés à la dite Compagnie par M. Le Cardinal de Richelieu, le 29 Avril 1627," *Mercure François*, 14 (1628), part II: 245 (art.17) http://mercurefrancois.ehess.fr/index.php?/category/79. *Edits, ordonnances royaux, et arrêts du Conseil d'Etat du Roi concernant le Canada*, (Québec: 1854), I, 10.

Christian baptism, as they were reiterated in the Catechism of Trent that stated that "The obligation to receive Baptism has been imposed on all."[24] Thus fell upon the Amerindians an obligation that they could not nor should not avoid, as it was required by the divine law upon which the *épistémè* of the French promoters of a naturalizing baptism was based. The universalism of Tridentine Christianity, skillfully recovered in Provision XVII, was used to legitimate the Native peoples' transformation into subjects of the French king.

Provision XVII ends with a precision: the baptized individual is like a "true subject and French natural not required to take letters of declaration nor naturalization." This meant that, among other things, they were subjected neither to the *droit d'aubaine*, a tax applied to non-naturalized foreigners, nor to the law stating that, were they to die on French soil, their estates would be claimed by the Crown.[25] Surely few or no Amerindians exercised their rights as subjects to the king, but Provision XVII remains remarkable since naturalization was at that time a very serious issue discussed by all, from the king to his most humble subject. Indeed, foreigners on French soil actively sought out the naturalization that French people living outside of the kingdom feared losing. The granting of a letter *de naturalité* was a royal prerogative, which not only allowed one to avoid the imposition of the *aubaine* tax, but also constituted a pathway through which the sovereign authority of the king was expressed:[26] it clearly defined who was and who was not a subject of the king. Within this context, it is worth noting a collateral and immediate effect of Provision XVII, as it created two types of Amerindians on American soil and on their own land: on one side, the naturalized converts, privileged by the French, and on the other the unconverted, considered to be *strangers* with whom alliances must be prudently made or against whom war must be waged.

From the perspective of gender history, the effects of baptism were quite different whether one was Amerindian or French. The impact of conversion was significant on female Amerindians who chose Christianity. On one hand, these women saw a considerable reduction, even reversal, in the liberties that they had enjoyed with regards to sexual relations, conjugal choice, and divorce.

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24 *Catéchisme du Concile de Trente*, Chapitre XV. *Du Sacrement du baptême* #II. *De l'Institution du baptême*. http://catechisme.free.fr/cat1part2chap15.htm *Le saint Concile de Trente* [...] (Paris: 1686) 7e session (3 mars 1547), *Decret des sacrements. Du baptesme*. http://lesbonstextes.ifastnet.com/trentetabledeschapitres.htm

25 *Mercure François*, 14 (1628), 245.

26 Jean Bacquet, *Les oeuvres de Maistre Jean Bacquet*, 3rd part of *Droict d'Aubeine*, chapter XXIV (Paris: 1664), 53; Robert Joseph Pothier, "Traités des Personnes et des Choses...," *Oeuvres complètes,* (ed.) M. Bugnet (Paris, Videcoq, Cosse et Delamotte, 1846), 27 et 29.

The missionaries imposed upon them premarital chastity and obedience to their husbands; their baptism obliged them to marry a Christian and invited them to separate from a partner choosing to remain pagan. On the other hand, the prerogatives accorded to young converts reversed the tribal age hierarchy, they were invited to proselytize and therefore speak before their elders. Although Amerindian women often resisted conversion, some did become exemplary Christians, such as Thérèse Chihwatenwha, student of the Ursulines who was kidnapped and adopted by the Iroquois in the 1640s and became the missionaries' relay within her adopted tribe, or like Kateri Tekakwita, the Iroquois saint from the St. Francois Xavier mission near Montréal who was canonized in 2012.

5.5 Women Missionaries and Missionized Women

Both nuns and *les dévotes* (laywomen dedicated to religious reforms) played determining roles in the missions inside and outside of France. A true religious feminism developed between 1600 and 1660: during this period of reconstruction in France following the religious wars and of construction of another France in America, women were called upon to contribute their dynamic forces. This double design was conceived and realized by a politico-mystical movement that rallied former members of the Catholic League of France and ex-Calvinists for whom the conquest for souls was no longer an armed endeavor and who made ample room for women whose *agency* they recognized as legitimate and necessary. A veritable religious feminism was thus promoted, whose leading principle was to affirm gender equality on the spiritual level in order to underline the Christian duties of each and to mobilize everyone. Through this movement, women were allowed the "same obligation to use their time" as men, to "make oneself useful to the public", to flee idleness and dedicate oneself to study, charity, and manual labor.[27] They were thus granted the possibility to actively participate in the foundations of civil society: charity, education, and health. This is why, when Jesuit Mission Superior Paul Le Jeune redirected the mission's strategy in 1634, it had been, up to that point, normal to call upon women. Indeed, instead of unsuccessfully addressing adults, as he and his colleagues had until then done, he began instead instructing children in the hopes that they would become primary advocates for the Catholic faith. But in order to respect the prescriptions of the Council of Trent reinforcing

27 Jacques Du Boscq, *L'Honneste femme* (Paris: 1636), III: 175–178.

gender segregation, Le Jeune had to convince "some brave mistress whom zeal for the glory of God, and a desire for the salvation of these people, will bring over here, with a few Companions animated by the same courage."[28] This is how the first female missionaries came to New France in 1639, to lay, as their contemporaries were doing in France, the groundwork for an entire religious and social welfare system—education, health and charity—the foundation of civil life, that would bring Amerindians to baptism and lead to "one people". Two communities were dedicated to education: the Ursuline nuns, who arrived in the *Habitation* of Québec in 1639, and the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame, founded in Ville-Marie (Montréal) in 1658 by Marguerite Bourgeoys. In what is today Québec City, after having created the Hôtel-Dieu in 1639, the Hospitaller nuns of the Mercy of Jesus founded the General Hospital. In Montréal, from 1659 on the Hospitaller nuns of St. Joseph led the Hôtel-Dieu founded by a laywoman Jeanne Mance, who is considered today as co-founder with Paul de Maisonneuve of the city of Montreal. Also in Montreal, the Grey Nuns, founded by Madame D'Youville in 1737, took care of the General Hospital. In Québec, Montréal and Trois-Rivières, the benefits offered by these institutions founded by women were considered the "bait covering the hook of the faith."[29]

As stated in the Preamble to the Royal Declaration of 1639 regarding clandestine marriages: "Marriages are the state's seminaries, the source and origin of civil society and the foundation of families that settle the republics, impose the principles on which to base their policies and in which the natural reverence of children towards their parents informs the legitimate obedience of subjects towards their sovereign."[30] The institution of matrimony was thus intrinsically tied to the stability of the society whose order depended on the family and, as such, it was a very serious matter for both the Church and the Crown. Therefore, the project of "one people" in New France appears under a new light, and explains why the Crown granted so speedily dowries to encourage mixed marriages.[31]

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28 JR VI: 151–153 (LeJeune: 1634).

29 Marie de l'Incarnation à Raymond de Saint Bernard, 1635, *Correspondance*, (ed.) Guy-Marie Oury (Solesmes: 1971), 49

30 Déclaration de Louis XIII, du 26 novembre 1629, *Portant règlement sur l'ordre qui doit être observé en la célébration des Mariages, et contre ceux qui commettent le crime de rapt*, in Le Ridant, *Code matrimonial,* Herissant, (Paris: 1766), 34.

31 For example, JR 261–267 (Le Jeune, *1638*, MNFIV: 126–127). Jean-Baptise Colbert à Jean Talon, 5 Avril 1667, in Pierre-Georges Roy, (ed.), *Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Quebec pour 1930–1931*, II, (Quebec: 1931), 72.

The new territories were seen as extensions of France—"The new France, transoceanic and western"[32]—and the colonists who intended to settle there were at first invited to live among the Amerindians and marry their daughters, as long as these daughters were carefully converted, baptized, and "Frenchified". This was perceived as being easy to do since, as the anonymous writer of a memoir on mixed marriages wrote, the Amerindian women were without religion; "They know no religion contrary to the Catholic, apostolic, and roman faith … by the gentleness which they would enjoy in this kind of life, escaping from such a miserable one as theirs, they shall have a great amity for their husbands, in such a way that they shall naturally conform to all that we should want."[33]

As for the Amerindians, the same unifying plan was proposed to them. "When that great house shall be built, then our young men will marry your daughters, and we shall be one people," thus Champlain promised the Hurons in 1633, as he did every time he met a people unknown to the French.[34] For the missionaries, initially at least, this type of union would "oblige all Savages to love the French as their brothers. They say they desire this with passion, for they are never happier than when we promise to marry their daughters, for after we say this they all cheer for us. They say that when we shall do this marriage, they will see us as part of their nation, as they consider descendants and family ties through their women and not through men, they say, that one can know with certainty who is the mother of the child, but not with certainty who is the father." In short, for the Jesuits: "These marriages could produce no bad inconvenience, for the savage women would never seduce their men into living miserably in the woods, as do the Savages of New France, and that children born of these marriages can be nothing else but Christians, fed and raised among the French and in their home, moreover it seems, in the docility of these people who believe no other religion, that the married woman is easily drawn to follow her husband's religion in which, if she only considers the differences between French and Savage existences, she would enjoy an angelic life compared to the misery of other savage women."[35]

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32 Marc Lescarbot, *Les muses de la Nouvelle-France …* (Paris: 1612), 6.

33 Pierre de Sesmaisons, *Raisons qui peuvent induire Sa Saincteté à permettre aux François qui habitent la Nouvelle-France d'espouser dez filles sauvages, quoyque non baptisées ny mesmes encorre beaucoup instruictes à la foy chrestienne* [before 1635] MNFIII: 37.

34 Champlain quoted in JR V: 211 (Le Jeune, 1633) see also 238, 279, 366. MNFV: 133–134 (Vimont, 1641); MNFVIII: 839–842 (De Quen, 1655–1656); RJ 43: 180 (1656–1657); RJ 44: 62 (1656–1657).

35 Sesmaisons, *Raisons* (MNFIII: 37–38, 39).

One can understand why, for these typically Eurocentric promoters of colonialism, uniting the Amerindian and French peoples would resolve many of their problems: the issue of controlling young and frisky French settlers who found it difficult to bear the sexual misery induced by both their religion and the marital policy of their society; the issue of increasing the colonial population without depopulating Old France; and the issue of ensuring loyalty among Amerindian allies. The colonists accepted the idea of mixed marriages on condition that they remain subjects to the king of France, for they would never have accepted the loss of their nationality due to their settling and founding a family outside of the kingdom. They would have, in this case, been subjected to the *aubaine* tax and to other vexations suffered by foreigners. This explains why the previously discussed Provision XVII was inserted in the Charter of the Company of One Hundred Associates. It is important to note that it was precisely during this period that debates over naturalization raised the question of which of the two types of legal disposition—filiation (*jus sanguinis*) or place of birth (*jus solis*)—should be accorded primacy. In the 1660s, lawyer Antoine Le Maistre testified to the evolution of thought that led to the triumph of filiation over geography: "Is it not more reasonable that French engender French everywhere? That a Frenchman engenders not a Spaniard if his wife gives birth in Spain, or a Savoyard in Savoy, or an English in England? Should a father who comes only from one country have children from many nations? And who can doubt that it is more important to be engendered by a Frenchman then to be only born in France? Who can doubt that a father is more to his child then the place where he was born? The father is natural to the child, the place is alien to him. In one the blood is French, in the other only the air is French."[36] Furthermore, and a serious matter in this highly religious period, Catholics risked damnation if they settled far from a church and the ministry of souls. This is why, at first, missionaries, Recollects, then Jesuits, aligned with Champlain on the fusion of the peoples on the express condition that marriages remain between Catholics—the new converts would assure the Christianity of their French spouses. These mixed marriages would carry the ideal of "one people" and create a "new" France, one without the shortcomings of Old France, a blank slate upon which an ideal Christianity could be forged.

Of course, and herein lies the perspective of power and social relations between the sexes, in a colony primarily composed of French men, the main targets of this mixing of peoples were the indigenous women. But not just any women: the French men needed to find—among the *Savages*—Frenchified, civilized,

36 Antoine Le Maistre, *Les plaidoyez et Harangues* (Paris: 1664), 410.

and Christianized wives that would counter the lure of Native women who seemed to offer themselves so easily. These Christian women would learn the propriety of French women—that is, in terms of gender, they would be taught to submit to the patriarchal hierarchy that was the basis of Euro-Christian civilization. It was even hoped that they would themselves relay French and Christian civility, by marrying either a French man who didn't want to lose his soul or a fellow Amerindian to lead, with his tribe, to the Christian faith.

At each rung of the social ladder, both in France and abroad, nuns and *dévotes* played a determinant role in female education and, therefore, in the fusion of the peoples of New France. Indeed, this project paired two separate female agencies: that of the French women and that of the Amerindian women, the former wanting to reduce—*reducere*, redirect—the other in what was considered to be the only rightful path, Franco-Christian civilization. This entailed instances of shock and confusion on both sides. Few Amerindian women bent to the new dictates,[37] they were more numerous in rebelling—often by deserting or by refusing to entrust their young girls to the French.

Along the way, French women tried to play on the same structures that constituted the sexual identities and gendered relationships of those that found benefits in conversion. For these converted women and other Amerindians, practices that did not conform to the gendered Euro-Christian and patriarchal ideals were denounced and eradicated, especially when they opposed a monogamous and unbreakable Christian marriage as promoted by the Council of Trent … and by the king. Moreover, the natalist policies promoted by Minister Colbert—particularly with the Edict of 1666—even intervened in female fertility, as illustrated by an observation by Intendant Jean Talon on the low fecundity of Amerindian women, which he associated with prolonged breastfeeding, a problem which he believed could be remediated by legislation! The country, he wrote, "Is fertile with natural French men of all ages, and in animals that the country produces. This is not the case for the Savages, whose women are quite sterile, either because the great work they are forced to do delays their pregnancy, or because they breastfeed their children for too long, but this obstacle to a prompt growth of the Colony can be surmounted by some policy regulations easy to introduce and impose if we do not prevent the savages from complying."[38]

37 François-Xavier de Charlevoix, *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: 1744) I, 344 (1659). JR LXV: 69 (Binneteau: 1696–1702).

38 Talon *Mémoire sur l'estat present du Canada* (1667) (Archives nationale du Canada Ser. C11A. Correspondance générale; Canada), f.355.

But why would natives play along with the Franco-Christian conjugal game? Amerindian women knew perfectly well how to use the European cultural categories to their advantage. They knew how to benefit from the situation and impose their own cultural practices. More precisely, one must consider the context of the fur trade, in which Amerindian women were actively involved—not only in treating the furs and in hunting small game with precious fur such as the marten, but also as diplomats and peace-makers, ensuring Amerindian access to European merchandise. In fact, Amerindian women's motivations in accepting mixed marriages depended on their location (the case of the Laurentian Valley differs from that of the *pays d'en haut*—the vast territory that stretched from west of Montréal into what is today Ontario, the eastern prairies, and south of the Great Lakes in the area of the Mississippi River known as the Illinois Country), their respective status (free or enslaved), their culture (patrilineal or matrilineal), their personal desires, and their tribe's greater or lesser need to ally with the French for trade or diplomacy. In the end, marriages between female *Savages* and French men seem to have been few in number. Historians agree that although instances of sexual relations between Amerindian women and colonists were numerous, marriages that were consecrated by priests and properly recorded in mission registers were relatively rare. This was especially the case in the Laurentian Valley; the situation was different in the *pays d'en haut*.

5.6 Conclusion

While nineteenth-century American interpretation of the missions of New France made it a place of conflict between Catholic absolutism and Protestant liberty (Parkman), French historians initially placed these missions in a providential historical context by insisting on the martyrs' heroism during the *mystical epic* of French expansion beyond its borders (Goyau) and by paying particular attention to the "missionary awakening of France" (Rousseau, Vaumas). These scholars displayed a frustratingly racist tendency to consider Amerindians as passive and inferior "Savages" that were part of the décor, like flora and fauna, and that Europeans had a duty to conquer, Christianize, and civilize, in short, to save. Then, thanks to the new religious history, discussion turned, during the 1980s and 1990s, to the close ties between missions within and outside of France (Delumeau, Venard, Deslandres 2003), with particular attention to the cultural nature of the encounters between missionaries and Amerindians as studied by ethnohistorians (Trigger, Axtell, Ronda, Jaenen, Jennings, Deslandres 2003, Greer 2005). The ambiguous role played by missions

amidst the powerful combination of cultural-mixing policies and the expansion of French sovereignty in America during the first globalization has only recently been brought to light (Aubert, Belmessous, Havard, 2003, Deslandres, 2013, S. White). Throughout this process, female *agency* is itself remarkable as it emerges as the major characteristic differentiating French missions from those of other colonial countries.

PART 2

Africa

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CHAPTER 6

Catholic Missions and Local Rulers in Sub-Saharan Africa

Alan Strathern

6.1 Introduction

Africa south of the Sahara has not attracted the attention awarded to more celebrated arenas of early modern Catholic mission in Asia or the Americas.[1] Indeed, the history of this vast and diverse continent in general has received less thorough examination, and our picture of missionary activity remains regionally fragmented.[2] In part, this reflects the surviving sources, which yield scattered spots of illumination but in some areas afford us little beyond the barest facts of missionary movements. Yet, when we gather all the evidence together, we see that there was quite extensive engagement with Christianity across many coastal regions and in some areas further inland—this is a story that certainly will repay the attention of future researchers. This chapter sets out to provide an overview of encounters between missionaries and local rulers in the 16th and 17th centuries and to help explain how the latter responded. Indeed ruling elites formed the primary focus of missionary energy, since their approval was usually required for the missionary presence even to be tolerated. We shall begin by outlining the main contexts through which to understand these encounters: this will help us to see how such engagement could happen at all, but also why it so rarely blossomed into a more profound Christianization.

From a world historical perspective, our central paradigm must be the relationship between the expansion of trade networks, state construction and the introduction of world religions. In our period this was most evident in

1 This essay does not include the missions in Muslim or Christian parts of Africa, which proceeded within a quite different context.

2 There is a fine historiography for certain regions, and I shall try to refer to significant secondary work in the footnotes—in particular the work of John K. Thornton will feature heavily. Much of this chapter also draws on research using primary sources, in particular as collected in António Brásio (ed.) *Monumenta Missionaria Africana: África Occidental* (1st series, 15 vols. (Lisbon: 1952-) [Henceforth MMA].

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the Islamization of island Southeast Asia, and indeed sub-Saharan Africa, as Muslim merchants created new commercial, political and eventually religious conjunctures.[3] But the Portuguese, who began tracking down the West African coast in the later fifteenth century in search of gold, the fabled Christian prince of Prester John and the sea route to India, also opened up the possibility of just such a dynamic.[4]

Particularly in the earlier encounters, then, we must imagine missions working beyond the boundaries of formal empire, with the Portuguese (and other miscellaneous Europeans travelling on their ships) operating as traders first and foremost, but also as allies and sometimes mercenaries. However the political context for mission shifted over our period, with three developments particularly salient: the first is the shift in the nature of trade, as slavery gradually increased in importance. The slave trade would in turn have profound consequences for the political stability of the coastal regions of western Africa, and for the tenor of Portuguese-African relations. The second is the shift in the second half of the 16th century towards attempting more intrusive imperial projects in certain areas—Central Africa and Mozambique in particular—as the Portuguese became more inclined to pursue dreams of conquest or impose client rulers. The third is the shift away from Portuguese monopoly of European trade as the Dutch, French and English set up trading posts in the 17th century.

However, throughout the period, one of the most shadowy dimensions of the European diaspora played a leading role: those Portuguese who situated themselves firmly within local societies usually inter-marrying and setting up as traders and players in local power struggles (referred to as *lançados* or *tangomãos* etc). They and their Luso-African descendants often formed the first point of contact with the new cult and took the first steps towards translating it into something comprehensible in local terms. In the same vein, we must note the important role played by indigenous leaders and proselytisers (teachers, catechists, prophets even) wherever Christianity truly caught the imagination. All this is by way of noting that the expansion of Catholicism is not to be equated with the labors of European missionaries.

Yet, when it comes to the engagement of *rulers* with Christianity, this was often most visible in the request for the dispatch of European missionaries,

3 See Alan Strathern, 'Global Patterns of Ruler Conversion to Islam and the Logic of Empirical Religiosity', in Andrew Peacock (ed.), *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History* (Edinburgh: 2017).

4 There is some debate as to how significant and attractive Iberian trade was for African societies. See, for example, John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: 1992), 43–70.

and this was in turn usually the result of rather secular concerns. To the extent that the accommodation of missionaries was seen as a means of diverting the flow of trade their way or attracting the goodwill of European forces, we may say that 'theological diplomacy' was at work. This may have been a forlorn assumption at times, but it was not a foolish one: the Portuguese themselves mingled spiritual and temporal alliance in all sorts of ways, and missionaries did not fail to see that their work proceeded within a field of power and interest created by the arrival of Portuguese caravels and carracks. The field was an unstable one, however, contingent on evanescent patterns of alliance and perceived advantage among jostling hierarchies of local potentates, and was only rendered more complex when other European trading groups appeared on the horizon in the 17th century.

In fact, theological diplomacy sprung into being with the erection of the very first Portuguese fortress on Sub-Saharan soil, São Jorge da Mina, on the Gold Coast. In 1503 it appeared as if the local ruler, the king of Eguafo ('Acomane') would convert. When he did not, a visit by the Portuguese captain induced his rival, the king of Efutu, to accept baptism along with his family and leading vassals, no doubt intent on tipping the diplomatic balance in his favour. He even constructed a chapel (Santiago of Efutu).[5] Most of the time theological diplomacy led to the toleration of missionaries; it quite often gave rise to intimations that baptism was being considered; rather less often did it lead to actual baptisms; and seldom to a continuing Christianization thereafter.

To refer to these rulers as 'kings' is to borrow the language of our Portuguese sources who used the term '*rei*' promiscuously. It is often difficult to perceive what kind of political authority lay behind such nomenclature, and without question some of the 'rulers' we shall consider might be better described as chiefs or warlords. One of the more fascinating questions, which would benefit from more determined scholarly synthesis in the future, is the role played by the Atlantic trade in the establishment of political centers that might be appropriately termed 'states'. The western seaboard of Africa should be imagined as a site of political flux. Internal migrations fed into this, sometimes the result of ecological instability, sometimes the consequences of the expansion of the Islamic empires forming a much larger political drama in the interior such as

5 Diogo de Alvarenga to the King, 18 August 1503, MMA I: 190–3; and also see the report of 13 October 1632, MMA VIII: 185–7, for later Augustinian activity. See Ivana Elbl, 'Cross-Cultural Trade and Diplomacy: Portuguese Relations with West Africa, 1441–1521', *Journal of World History* 3 (1992), 182, and C. R. DeCorse and Sam Spiers 'A Tale of Two Polities: Socio-Political Transformation on the Gold Coast in the Atlantic World', *Australian Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 27 (2009), 29–42.

the Mandinka Kaabu Empire or the Yoruba Oyo. Yet the redistributive powers offered by the Atlantic trade were an attractive means by which a local chief could hope to turn his authority into something more exciting. There were, however, three centers of political authority south of the Sahel that historians have been more willing to describe as 'states' before European involvement: Kongo, Benin, and Mutapa (Monomotapa), and all of these also saw the advantages of theological diplomacy with Europeans, as we shall see.[6]

What is most obscure and most tantalizing is to see how rulers may have grasped at the new cult as a means of solving certain tensions and compromises in the construction of more centralized forms of power. The manufacture of political authority—whether we call it chiefship or kingship—should not be seen as a 'secular' process. Everywhere in Africa, it involved a profound manipulation of ideas and hopes relating to the spiritual world. The nature of sacred authority is the subject of a major project, so it will not be taken up here, but we can note that from one perspective there was something wholly absurd about missionary endeavor.[7] If ritual activity did not just symbolize and legitimize the role of the chief or king but was actually held to *create* his power and the flourishing of his subjects, then its repudiation might well be taken to constitute both a personal and public catastrophe.[8]

On the other hand, world history presents us with many examples of sacred kings converting to Christianity and Islam. This was perhaps particularly possible in areas hosting religious systems dominated by 'immanentist' concerns as opposed to a 'transcendentalist' vision: where this-worldly flourishing rather than post-mortem salvation was the focus.[9] In the former, whatever complex social functions religious practice discharged, it was largely aimed at securing the material enhancement of life in the here and now. It was thus potentially subject to what we can refer to as a certain 'ritual empiricism', a utilitarian logic that allowed for rapid innovation and a certain receptivity to new cults.[10] In specific circumstances, the efficacy of the old cults could be called into

6 Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa* 1450–1950 (1994), 50.

7 Alan Strathern, *Unearthly Powers: Sacred Kingship and Religious Change in World History* (CUP, forthcoming).

8 See, for example, the King of Allada's comments in a report of 17 July 1662, MMA XII: 383.

9 Unfortunately, we have little space to explain these terms here. Some early thoughts can be found in Alan Strathern 'Transcendentalist Intransigence: Why Rulers Rejected Monotheism in Early Modern Southeast Asia and Beyond', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 49 (2007): 358–83.

10 This feature has been widely noted by Africanists, for eg. John Iliffe, *Africans: The History of a Continent* (Cambridge: 1995), 87.

question, particularly if they could be seen to fail in moments of existential peril.

By the same token, immanentism also tended to dictate the terms in which monotheism would be received. In the first instance it was liable to be interpreted as a form of ritual power. It is important to note that such power was inherently ambiguous in ethical terms. Indeed even long after first contact with Christianity, interpretations of it could switch quite rapidly between a powerful life-giving force (and therefore a protection against witchcraft, for example) or a powerful death-dealing force (a species of witchcraft itself). All this was assisted by the willingness of missionaries to allow the thaumaturgic element of Christianity to come to the fore in exchange for the gusts of enthusiasm that it could inspire. Whatever standards of baptism the missionaries left Europe with (pre-baptismal instruction, monogamy etc) were placed under severe pressure in this mission field.

Before we proceed, however it is worth emphasizing the extent to which we are the mercy of our extremely patchy and often unhelpful sources, almost entirely documents written by Europeans. We know from the nineteenth and twentieth century missionary history of Africa (and also Oceania), for example, that great movements of iconoclastic purification and religious innovation following contact with missionaries often proceed according to a profoundly indigenous logic, perhaps sparked off by the latent millennialism of Christianity. Our sources for the early modern period rarely allow us room to perceive this sort of phenomenon and thus perhaps what really led to or issued from the moment of baptism—the crux of conversion from the Catholic viewpoint.

6.2 The Catholic Kings of Kongo and Its Surrounds

Early modern missions in Africa yielded one shining success. However, so early on in the chronology of Portuguese exploration did the conversion of the Kings of Kongo occur that it might just as well be considered a medieval rather than early modern moment, while missionaries per se played only a minor role in its achievement. The subsequent story of Christianity in this region of west central Africa (with the capital Mbanza Kongo located in northern Angola in the present day) is long and complex; here we shall touch on a few pertinent points that help to explain how Catholicism ever gained its first foothold there. It is rarely appreciated that the early encounters between the Portuguese and people of Kongo present us with a possible case in which European visitors were imagined as issuing from a 'supernatural' realm of some kind. The case of Kongo from 1483 to 1491 deserves to be discussed in the same breath as the controversies surrounding Hernán Cortés as Quetzalcoatl in Mexico or

Captain Cook as the God Lono in Hawaii.[11] Thus in Anne Hilton's reading when the Portuguese first arrived in 1483 under the explorer Diogo Cão, they were seen as territorial spirits wielding powers of fertility.[12] We do know that Diogo Cão took some Kongolese as hostages back with him to Lisbon and when they reappeared with the return of the Portuguese in 1485 they were greeted with wonderment—having been long taken for dead. In reply the king Nizinga Nkuwu sent an embassy requesting assistance in building and furnishing a church, and carpenters and masons and artisans, farmers and bread-makers.

In a manner that must have seemed rather astonishing to the people of Kongo, when the Portuguese next appeared six years later in 1491 they found that their wishes had materialized in the form of an array of lavish and useful gifts.[13] They were first met by the Mani Soyo, the ruler of the coastal province of Soyo, with a great show in which his people danced, their flesh painted white and other colors, their heads adorned with parrot feathers. Various aspects of this reception have been interpreted to indicate that an association was being made between the Portuguese and the life-bestowing realm of the dead.[14]

As well as bringing gifts that promised observable mastery over the material world (carpentry, bread-making), the Portuguese also brought with them a new ritual (baptism), which promised to confer powers of a less visible sort. The ritual behavior involved was perhaps comprehensible in terms of the procedures of *kimpasi* or initiation cult: the initiates entered into an enclosure (in this case a 'house of branches' cut down by the locals to serve as a chapel) which contained ritual objects, listened to unusual or unintelligible speech and emerged reborn with a new social status.[15] The first person to undergo this new rite was the Mani Soyo, who took the name Manuel. The Portuguese

11 There is much literature on this, but on Hawaii for eg, see Marshall Sahlins, *How Natives Think: About Captain Cook, For Example* (Chicago: 1995).

12 Anne Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo* (Oxford: 1985) 50, and see Georges Balandier, *Daily Life in the Kingdom of Kongo* (London: 1968), 253; Wyatt MacGaffy, 'Dialogues of the Deaf: Europeans on the Atlantic Coast of Africa', in Stuart B. Schwarz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings*: *Observing, Reporting and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: 1995), 258. Their paleness and watery origin, among other aspects, may have associated them with the underworld.

13 Rui de Pina, *Chronica del Rei D. Joham III*, in MMA I, 56–68, 112–6; Garcia de Resende, *Chronica…*, in MMA I: 117–20.

14 Hilton, *Kingdom*, 50–53.

15 Pina, *Chronica*, MMA I: 63 and João de Barros, *Primeira Década da Ásia*, MMA I, 79–80. On 'kimpasi', see John K. Thornton 'Religious and ceremonial life in the Kongo and Mbundu areas, 1500–1700' in Linda M Heywood, *Central Africans and Cultural Transformation*, (Cambridge: 2001), 81.

expedition then made its way to the centre of the kingdom, Mbanza Kongo, where the king, Nzinga Nkuwu, was no less pleased to see them, and displayed the cult objects they had brought to the people gathered outside his wooden palace.[16] The Portuguese began to build a church out of stone in early May, but the king has been mustering troops to go to war to put down a rebellion, and, impatient for baptism, he asked for the ceremony to be conducted before it was completed. As solemnly as they could in the circumstances, the king was baptized (taking the name of João) along with six of his noblemen, and orders were dispatched for the burning of idols.

The Portuguese sources—on which we rely entirely—convey quite clearly that the baptism was undertaken in the expectation that the bestowal of 'immanentist' powers would follow. Episodes registering this indigenous understanding survived insofar as they also spoke to the Providential and miraculous sensibility in Catholicism. John Thornton has aptly described these moments as 'co-revelations', in which both parties were willing to grant authority to the same revelation according to different interpretative schemas.[17] One of these revelations was experienced by a prominent individual who said that he had been visited in the night by a most handsome woman, who spoke to him and this gave him such strength that it would take a hundred men to kill him thenceforth.[18] The Christian clergy confidently explained this as the intervention of the Virgin Mary. These and other clues point to an appreciation of Christian ritual as a means of ensuring military success. The king certainly found that his new powers were successful and returned to the capital victorious.

Yet, such potency could easily be imagined as a threat as well as an opportunity. João de Barros tells us that when the clergy tried to make King João keep just one wife, the remaining wives were aghast at their impending loss of status and fomented resistance.[19] Rumors were circulated that the king's son, Afonso, who had been pursuing a vigorous course of Christianization as a provincial governor, was actually a kind of sorcerer who was bringing evil on the land. The king threw off his association with Christianity and repudiated Afonso. When Nzinga Nkuwu died, there was a succession struggle between the Christian Afonso and his anti-Christian rival for the throne, which culminated in a decisive battle in 1509.[20] The outnumbered Afonso

16 Pina, *Chronica*, MMA I: 112–6.

17 Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 257.

18 Pina in MMA I: 124.

19 Barrosin MMA I: 141.

20 F. Bontinck, 'Ndodidiki Ne-Kinu a Mubemba, premier évêque Kongo (c.1495–c.1531),' *Revue Africaine de Theologie* 3 (1979), 154–56, argues for 1509 as the date.

was victorious nonetheless, which he attributed to the way that his cries for Santiago (St. James) were answered in the form of celestial mounted warriors who came to their assistance.[21] Thus was born the founding myth of Afonso's reign (1509–42) and the Kongo monarchy thereafter. The war magic had come good again in spectacular style.

Afonso sent his ambassador and cousin Pedro with a request for the means to build churches and educate his population.[22] These found reply in Simão de Silva's embassy of 1512, which comprised five ships laden with masons, carpenters, horses, and Christian paraphernalia.

Instead of guarding Christianity as a source of personal ritual power then, he now entered into it as process of profound personal transformation—and indeed societal transformation too. Afonso emerges from the historical record as a visionary king, with a desire to place society and polity on a new basis anchored in religious commitment, in the manner of the English king Alfred the Great (King of Wessex 871–99). Like Alfred, Afonso threw himself into the acquisition of literacy, the preaching of sermons and even teaching accompanied by his queen.[23] He sent many nobles, including his closest relatives to Lisbon.[24] By 1514 we find him complaining to D. Manuel I that his attempts to impose Christian learning on the noble youth of Kongo were being undone by the poor clerical discipline and sheer laziness of the Portuguese clergy.[25] His letter proceeds through an audacious inversion of European conceits of civility and piety.

Afonso's educational mission was followed by his successor Diogo I (1545–61), who oversaw the foundation of a Jesuit school for 500–600 youths in the capital.[26] More intriguingly, he also set up a wider network of schools beyond

21 Accounts of the 'miracle' vary in their details: Barros in MMA I: 144–5; King of Kongo to his people, 1512, in MMA I: 268; King of Kongo to D. Manuel I, 5 Oct 1514, MMA I: 301; Filipo Pigafetta, *History of the Kingdom of Congo* by *Filippo Pigafetta*, trans. Abraham Hartwell, (1597), 81

22 Damião de Góis, *Chronica delRei D. Manuel* I in MMA I: 222–5.

23 The King of Kongo to D. Manuel I, 31 May 1515, in MMA I: 338; Afonso to D. João III, 25 August 1526, MMA I: 479–81; D. João III to the King of Kongo, 1529, MMA I: 533.

24 Barros in MMA I: 146; Góis in MMA I: 222–5; King of Kongo to D. Manuel I, 5 Oct 1514, MMA I: 298, 312.

25 King of Kongo to D. Manuel I, 5 Oct 1514, MMA I: 298. Compare Góis, *Chronica*, MMA I: 374.

26 Jacome Dias, 1 August 1548, MMA XV:153–8; Cristovão Ribeiro, 1 August 1548, MMA XV: 161; Padre Cornelio Gomes, 20 Oct 1553, MMA II 297; Also see Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles and the Foundation of the Americas* (Cambridge: 2007) 61, 185; Kate Lowe, 'Representing Africa: ambassadors and princes from Christian Africa to Renaissance Italy and Portugal, 1402–1608', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 17 (2007), 101–28.

the capital run by one of the 'boys of the chapel of the king' to teach Christian doctrine. By 1561, then, every province in the kingdom had its church and teacher.[27] By this point, however, tensions between the kings of Kongo and the authorities in São Tomé and Lisbon for control of the local church were becoming all-too visible.[28] It is no doubt precisely because Christianity was allowed to embed itself under indigenous royal authority that its progress was so strong. Afonso had managed to have his own son, Henrique, installed as the first bishop of Kongo (the titular Bishop of Utica *in partibus infidelium*), who returned to the Kongo in 1521.[29] After Henrique's death, he was replaced, in 1534, by a new Portuguese bishop based at São Tomé, who eventually sought to try to gain control in the 1540s during the reign of King Diogo. This was the scene into which the Jesuits arrived and formed an underlying source of their recriminations towards a church which had been quite thoroughly indigenized on an institutional level. They accused Diogo of allowing un-Christian elaborations of his royal charisma to persist in occasions hidden from their eyes.[30]

It is ironic that the greatest success story in Africa should have attracted so much negativity from the Jesuits in particular—and on the grounds that Kongo Christianity had accommodated itself too well to the local religious sensibility. The secular clergy and the Canons Regular of St. Eloi, who operated 1509–32, appear to have been much more willing to allow a local Christianity take root under Afonso's direction.[31] We thus encounter a perennial problem of missionary history—how to conceptualize the syncretic products of conversion movements—and the case of Kongo would benefit greatly from being brought firmly into the mainstream of this discussion. It should be clear by now that it unlikely that Christianity was only adopted as a superficial façade in order to impress Europeans.[32] For all that Afonso strove to keep control of

27 Sebastião de Souto, 1561, MMA II, 479–80; Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, 65.

28 Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*: 64; Anne Hilton 'European Sources for the study of religious change in 16th- and 17th-century Kongo', in *Paideuma* 33 (1987), 292.

29 On this title, see Bontinck, 'Ndodidiki Ne-Kinu a Mubemba', 161.

30 Cornelio Gomes, 1551, MMA XV, 166. See John K. Thornton, 'The Development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1491–1750', *Journal of African History* 25 (1984), 149 for contextualization.

31 King of Kongo, 5 Oct 1514, MMA I, 297; King of Kongo, 18 March 1526, MMA I, 463; George Cardoso, *Agiologio Lusitana* in MMA I, 86–9; Francisco de Santa Maria, *O Ceo Aberto na Terra* … in MMA I, 91; Damião de Góis, *Chronica* … in MMA I, 207; Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans,* 67, 103.

32 One may contrast the approach of Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, with the works of John Thornton already cited and Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans,* 49, 62.

the church in his realm, he was also desperate for deepening contact with the wider Christian world, sending many relative and nobles for education to Portugal and others to São Tomé.[33] In 1526, Afonso wrote asking for fifty fathers, or more as 'unguents for the open wounds of the people'.[34]

This is not to doubt that much of what was new about Christianity struggled to find much purchase outside an elite enclave—much as Islam remained a court phenomenon in many African kingdoms. No doubt the most profoundly immanentist qualities of Catholicism were brought to the fore, as missionaries were acclaimed for their thaumaturgic powers in the manner of their forbears in early medieval Europe.[35] One obvious reason why this was so is simply a lack of personnel, for Afonso's requests for more priests were never met with sufficient numbers.[36] As Adrian Hastings has pointed out, the sacramentalism of Catholicism makes it particularly dependent on a decent supply of ordained priests who are needed in order to carry out the most basic rituals.[37]It was important that initially and sporadically thereafter Portugal invested in the creation of a native clergy and that colleges were set up in the region. But the supply of ordained secular clergy was subsequently damaged by struggles with Portugal for control of the bishopric (which passed to Portuguese control at São Tomé in 1534).[38]

One indication of the way in which the sporadic Christianization process had met its match in rural areas over the long-term lies in the reaction to the aggressive Capuchin thrust into provincial society following their arrival in 1645 and their determination to destroy all other ritual practices.[39] The opposition from resurgent initiation cults (*kimpassi*) was such that Garcia II (1641–61) and António I (1661–5) were forced to publicly associate themselves with

33 King of Kongo, 5 Oct 1514, MMA I, 295, 321.

34 King of Kongo 18 March 1526, MMA I, 460–2.

35 I do not therefore enter into the debate here regarding how profound the Christianization of the populace at large was, and therefore also of those who would be taken as slaves to the Americas. See, for e.g. James Sweet, *Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441–1770* (Chapel Hill: 2003), as opposed to Thornton, 'The Development of an African Catholic Church'.

36 King of Kongo 25 August 1526, MMA I, 477; Diogo do Santissimo Sacramento, 2 December 1584, MMA III, 296–7; Martinho de Ulhoa, *De Statu Regni Congi*, 1595, in MMA III, 505–10.

37 Hastings, *Church in Africa*, 69.

38 King of Kongo, 25 March 1539, MMA II, 73–5; Malyn Newitt (ed.) *The Portuguese in West Africa: A Documentary History 1415–1670* (Cambridge: 2010), 169–70; John K. Thornton, *The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641–1718* (1983) 66.

39 Richard Gray *Black Christians and White Missionaries* (London: 1990), 35–58.

these movements.[40] It is no coincidence that the context was the underlying disintegration of the authority of São Salvador, and António I would be the last king of a truly united Kongo. Yet the phenomenon of Beatriz Kimpa Vita, whose visions as a vehicle for the spirit of St. Anthony inspired a major rebellion, indicates that popular movements of spiritual purification and political unification could draw deep inspiration from Christian themes.[41] By this time Christianity was indigenized to the extent that Beatriz imagined that Jesus had been born in Kongo and Christianity begun in São Salvador. This long story had been set in motion, if hardly foreseen, by Afonso I.

The argument that Afonso had first advanced in the 1510s, that he was a more convincing agent of Christianity than the wayward Portuguese on the ground, was not a preposterous one to judge by later events. The accord between Kongo and the Portuguese soured quickly. The Portuguese became more aggressive in their pursuit of slaves and then became territorial rivals as they began to expand their influence in Ndongo to the south. In 1622 the Portuguese invaded Kongo in alliance with rampaging war-bands known as Imbangala.[42] Rarely can there have been a more vivid demonstration of the potential for conflict between the 'temporal' and 'spiritual' arms of the European expansion. Garcia II was moved to ally with the Dutch in 1642 in an attempt to drive out the Portuguese but insisted in the treaty of alliance that 'I confess the true Catholic Faith and place myself under the obedience of the Holy Father, vicar of God; because the evil of the Portuguese, founded in ambition, is not sufficient for me to abandon the Catholic Faith … there is no Catholic prince who would castigate me because of this.'[43]

In his analysis of nineteenth century evangelization, Adrian Hastings noticed that the 'breakthrough' case of African royal conversion in Buganda set off a chain reaction amongst many of the surrounding monarchies: now they could see what a truly indigenous form of Christian church and state looked like.[44] What Hastings noted for these early twentieth century Bantu monarchies

40 Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, 196–9.

41 John K.Thornton, *Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684–1706* (1998), Chapter 1; Adrian Hastings, 'The Christianity of Pedro IV of the Kongo, 'The Pacific' (1695–1718)', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 28 (1998), 145–159.

42 See below on the Imbangala.

43 John K. Thornton and Linda Heywood 'Kongo and Dahomey, 1660–1815: African Political Leadership in the Era of the Slave Trade and its Impact on the Formation of African Identity in Brazil,' in Bernard Bailyn, (ed.) *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500–1825* (Cambridge MA: 2009), 92.

44 Hastings, *Church in Africa*, 468, 474.

also seems to hold—in a murky and temporary way—for the nascent chieftaincies and towns around Kongo. If initially the Kongo kings perceived Lisbon and Rome to be sources of unusual civilizational and spiritual power, it is notable how quickly Mbanza Kongo came to see itself as the Christian sun around which lesser stars ought properly to wheel.

This is indicated by an extraordinary if somewhat isolated document from 1561, by a Father Sebastião de Souto, which Linda Heywood and John Thornton have drawn to our attention. It carries the heading 'Titles of lands, kingdoms, and provinces beyond the port of the Ambudos, which received the word of God and water of holy baptism by their own free will.'[45] Souto explains that in all these areas there were churches 'according to the fashion of the country', and that in each one a 'Mwissikongo chapel boy of the chapel of the King Dom Diogo, to teach the Christian doctrine, precepts and rules.' Souto, scouting out this area on the orders of the Portuguese captain major, had entered upon a great hinterland of peripheral polities apparently receptive to Christianity as conveyed to it under Kongo authority by lay teachers who were usually Kongolese or Luso-African.[46]

In between Kongo and Loango to the north lay other smaller kingdoms around the Kong river: Kakongo, Ngoyo, Kundi, Okango and Makoko. There seems to have been a particular conjuncture of receptiveness to Christianity amongst these states around 1603–5, a few years after the Dutch became a significant military and trading presence in the region: in 1604 Alvaro II claimed that he had baptized the kings of Okango, Kundi and Kala.[47] Yet in some cases attempts to deal with Christianity lasted well beyond this. The king of Kakongo requested Jesuits to come and baptize him and his people in 1605–6 and 1623–4.[48] In the late 17th century, the Capuchin Girolamo Merolla da Sorrenta recorded an intriguing history of conversion and rebellion in the kingdom and a very frank indication that trade and alliance with Luanda was uppermost in the ruler's mind.[49]

45 Sebastião de Souto, 1561, MMA II, 477–80.

46 See Filippo Pigafetta, *Relatione del Reame di Congo*,(1591) in Newitt, *Portuguese in West Africa*, 141–2; Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans,* 100–6, 169–70.

47 Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*, 170, 204; and Kongo and Dahomey', 91

48 Fernão Guerreiro, *Relaçāco* ... 1606–7, in MMA V, 241. Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*, 108.

49 Girolamo Merolla, *Breve e Succinta Relatione* ... in John Pinkerton (ed.), *Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World* (London: 1814), 271, 274–5, 293; Phyllis M. Martin, *The External trade of the Loango coast, 1576–1870: The Effects of Changing Commercial Relations on the Vili Kingdom of Loango* (Oxford: 1972), 75.

Loango, to the north, first emerges into history in Souto's report of 1561 above, which claimed that the king and the king's brother, who had some important priestly role, had been converted and 'burnt all his idols and fetishes' in response to Diogo's Christian expansiveness.[50] In Luc de Heusch's analysis of monarchies in this region, Loango is presented as taking exactly the opposite path to its sometime liege Kongo by advancing a form of sacral monarchy in a traditional idiom.[51] As Loango expanded into an important trading centre in its own right, its kings certainly did develop a resonant and even awesome reputation in the region as kings with great spiritual powers at their disposal. Yet there is again a continuing history of engagement with mission: in 1584, Carmelite missionaries reported the king's eagerness for missionaries, and in 1603, he was demanding Jesuits while the Portuguese factor there was teaching the children of the nobles. Further requests were made in 1606–7, 1620, and 1623–4, and in 1628 a Jesuit mission reported some success among the population.[52] Once again there is very clear evidence of theological diplomacy conducted with an eye on commerce, and attempts to play off the Portuguese against the Dutch. And yet there is the tantalizing claim that the King of Loango and thousands of subjects had converted in 1663—at least we know that the religious innovation was serious enough to create a violent reaction which helped propel civil war.[53] It is true that by the 1680s the prospects for Christianity had come to a dead-end, but one may certainly doubt that Loango was quite so closed to the new cult as it may seem at first glance.[54]

6.3 Angola: From Diplomacy to Force

Outside of the Kongo, Catholicism only penetrated the African interior alongside the development of Portuguese territorial imperialism in the regions of what are now Angola and Mozambique from the last quarter of the 16th century onwards. In these two regions we find ourselves shifting along the

50 Souto, 1561, MMA II, 477–80; Thornton 'Religious and Ceremonial Life', 86–7.

51 Luc de Heusch, *Le Roi de Kongo et les monstres sacrés. Mythes et rites bantous III*, (Gallimard: 2000).

52 Diogo da Encarnação, 27 September 1584, MMA III, 279; Annual Letter from Angola of 1603 in MMA V, 82; Guerreiro, *Relaçãco* in MMA V, 241–2; *Relação*, 1620, MMA VI, 479; Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*, 108, 207.

53 Merolla in Pinkerton, *Voyages*, 270–1; Bernandino Hungaro, 2 September1663, MMA XII 449.

54 See Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*, 207, for a contrary view.

spectrum from theological diplomacy, by which local potentates could jerk the chain of the Portuguese dog, to theological imposition, by which local potentates were brought to heel through the collar of baptism and vassalage. Indeed the failures of the former were implicated in the latter. While the pursuit of a more aggressive territorial vision of empire was fuelled by fundamentally material motivations—including, at its crudest the lure of silver in Angola and gold in Mozambique, and at a slightly more complex level a more general inclination to conquest under Sebastião I and the Habsburg Union of Crowns (1580–1640)—the ideological grease provided by the Church certainly oiled the machinery of expansion.[55] The imprisonment of one Jesuit in Ndongo and the strangling of another in Mutapa gave strength to voices arguing that Christianity was best exported through conquest, as indeed was happening in the Americas.[56]

In the region of present-day Angola, we also perceive chieftains grasping at the opportunities afforded by the Atlantic trade and trying to build their own power bases while the Kings of Kongo and the Portuguese competed to act as the regional Christian hegemon.[57] The first request for a mission arose through the influence of Portuguese and Luso-African private adventurers from São Tomé who had set up a base at Luanda Island and from there had sought out trade with Ndongo.[58] Most probably, the King of Ndongo, Ngola Kiluanje (c. 1515–1556), was trying to assert his authority over recently subjected neighbors while throwing off any subordination to Kongo by exploring the advantages of direct contact with the Portuguese.[59] In 1518 he sent ambassadors to Portugal with

55 Beatrix Heintze, 'Angola under Portuguese Rule: How it all began. Settlement and Economic Policy, 1570–1607', in Ana Paulo Tavares and Catarina Madeira Santos (eds.), *Africae Monumenta*: *A Apropriação da Escrita pelos Africanos. vol. 1, Arquivo, Caculo, cacahenda* (Lisbon: 2002), 536. On the general 'territorial turn' in Iberian imperialism, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Holding the world in balance: The connected histories of Iberian empires, 1500–1640', *American Historical Review*, 112:5 (2007), 1359–1385.

56 A. R Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire, Vol. 2, The Portuguese Empire* (Cambridge: 2009), 71.

57 D. João III,1529, MMA I, 532–3; Notes on Paulo Dias de Novais, MMA II, 465–8; António Mendes, 9 May 1563, MMA II, 502; Ilídio do Amaral, *O reino do Congo, os mbundu* (*ou ambundos*), *o reino dos ngola* (*ou de Angola*), *e a presença portuguesa, de finais do século XV a meados do século XVI* (Lisbon: 1996), 81–2.

58 Luanda became the seat of a Captaincy in 1575 and was founded as a town in 1575. See Catarina Madeira Santos, 'Luanda, a colonial city in West Africa (XVIIth–XVIIIth centuries),' in L.M. Brockey (ed.), *Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World*, (Ashgate: 2008), 249–273.

59 Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*, 73 ff on Ndongo.

a request to become a Christian. The Portuguese reply arrived in the form of a mission in 1520.[60] The *regimento* (standing orders) from D. Manuel carried by Manuel Pacheco and Baltasar de Castro advised them how to proceed with the king, and bundled together urgings about salvation with the 'gifts [*merces*], honors, trade and good friendship' that would be forthcoming from the Portuguese king.[61] This mission broke down into conflicts with the Luso-Africans when the King of Kongo sent word maligning the Portuguese, claiming that Baltasar de Castro was a Muslim amongst other things.[62]

Ndongo was nevertheless successful in attracting many Portuguese and Luso-African merchants, probably to the detriment of Kongo, and grew in importance as a mercantile centre, particularly for slaves. Ngola Kiluanje dispatched another embassy requesting conversion in 1549, which never reached Portugal. His successor Ndambi a Ngola (1556–1561) welcomed another mission, sent under the leadership of the fidalgo Paulo Dias de Novais in 1560. This was undermined after warnings from the kings of Kongo that the Portuguese could not be trusted.[63] They were all imprisoned.[64] Dias de Novais was set free in 1565, but one of the Jesuits, Francisco de Gouveia was kept there until he died in 1575. It seems that the king, Ngola Kiluanje kia Ndambi (r.1561–1575), wanted Gouveia to remain there in order to offer religious services to the Portuguese and Lusitanised merchant groups. A curious relationship developed between the Jesuit and the fierce ruler.[65] The correspondence of the permanently-detained Gouveia tended towards the mournful and dwelt upon the implacability of the king and the cynical deployment of his own person as a magnet for ships and their goods.[66] But his letters also reveal that his church had become a fixture in the spiritual marketplace in Ndongo: called upon, patronized by leading men and accorded genuine respect.[67] Moreover when he passed into a mortal sickness, the king was genuinely grieved and 'sent for his holy men and sorcerers [*bentos e feitiçeiros*]' to attend him day and night, which must have stuck hard in the ailing Jesuit's throat.'[68] The king himself died in the same year.

60 MMA II, 465–8.

61 Regimento of D. Manuel, 16 February 1520, MMA I, 435.

62 Baltasar de Castro 15 October 1526, MMA I, 485–7.

63 Garcia Simões, 20 October 1575, MMA III, 141–2; *Desbarato dos Reis do Etiópia* in MMA, IV, 532–44; Jesuits in Angola, 1 May 1594, MMA IV, 551–5.

64 Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*, 81.

65 Jesuits in Angola, 1 May 1594, MMA IV, 546–7, 552.

66 Francisco de Gouveia, 1 Jan 1564, MMA XV, 230–35.

67 Ibid.

68 Garcia Simões, 20 October 1575, MMA III, 141; Jesuits in Angola, 1 May 1594, MMA IV, 556.

But the bitter end of Gouveia's life had great consequences. He had concluded that 'it was impossible to do anything with these people while they are not governed by the king of Portugal.'[69] The warnings of the kings of Kongo had been far from paranoid. Dias de Novais returned in 1575 with an armed force and a charter from the King of Portugal instructing him so subjugate and conquer the Kingdom of Angola.[70] There followed interminable wars between Dias de Novais' forces and those of Ndongo, the Portuguese forces driven now by the prospect of slaves, and the Dutch a major threat too (they captured Luanda 1641 to 1648).[71] But as a network of Portuguese fortresses began to spring up and puppet ngola were installed, theological diplomacy mutated into something more coercive: 'theological feudalism' perhaps.[72] The Portuguese saw it as entirely natural that religion should be used to tie the sobas in vassalage to the Portuguese crown.[73] The many chiefly conversions in this region that followed were mostly blatantly political devices.

Here we shall take up the story of one of the Ngola Mbandi's daughters, Njinga, who was baptized as Ana de Sousa in 1621 as part of the negotiation of a treaty with the Portuguese.[74] After her father had died, Njinga associated herself with an Imbangala war-band that had fought for the Portuguese at one stage and was now asserting independence.[75] The Imbangala were unified through the secret society initiation rituals and sustained themselves through the brutalization of child captives. They deployed a transgressive and gruesome symbolic repertoire involving extensive use of alcohol and cannibalism.[76] By 1635 Njinga had detached herself from the main body of this group and conquered Matamba where she established her own political centre.

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69 Francisco de Gouveia, 1 Jan 1564, MMA XV, 231.

70 Disney, *A History of Portugal*, 71.

71 Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*, 93–4; Roland Oliver (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Africa Volume 3: From c.1050 to c.1600* (Cambridge: 1977), 542.

72 See Catarina Madeira Santos, 'Luanda', 254.

73 Thornton 'Religious and Ceremonial Life', 86–7.

74 Beatrix Heintze, *Fontes Para a História de Angola* (Wiesbaden, 1985–8), vol. I, 196; Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*, 92, 124.

75 See Linda M. Heywood, *Njinga of Angola: Africa's Warrior Queen* (Harvard, 2017), which came too late to be used in this chapter.

76 On Jagas, see Beatrix Heintze and Katja Rieck 'The Extraordinary Journey of the Jaga Through the Centuries: Critical Approaches to Precolonial Angolan Historical Sources', *History in Africa*, Vol. 34, (2007), 67–101. On the Imbangala and their identification with the 'Jagas' of the Portuguese sources, see Michel Chandeigne *Le royaume de Congo: et les contrées environnantes (1591)* (Paris: 2002), 291–95 and Newitt (ed.), *Portuguese in West Africa*, 142–7, 162–3. For a report on Njinga's own gruesome initiation ritual see Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*, 133.

While leading many military campaigns, Njinga did not give up on diplomacy with the Portuguese in pursuing her claim to Ndongo, and also, from 1646, in retrieving her Christian sister Barbara back from captivity.[77] In 1656, she concluded a peace treaty with the Portuguese governor based at Luanda, which involved rejecting the i-mbangala rites and adopting Christianity.[78] She was duly baptized by the Italian Capuchin Antonio da Gaeta. This was surely something more profound than another act in the on-going theatre of theological diplomacy.[79]After Barbara's arrival, surrounded by many Christian followers, Njinga and her sister walked in procession to the newly-built church at Mamba, carrying torches.[80] She subsequently allowed Capuchins to work in her lands.[81]

Underlying this move, however, was surely Njinga's desire to provide her nascent kingdom of Mamba with greater central heft.[82] Like Afonso, Njinga displayed an unusual ability to extemporize with her royal image. During the 1640s, she had turned herself symbolically into a man, taking several husbands and transforming them into concubines who dressed in women's clothing and slept chastely among her maids in waiting.[83] But there were apparently firm limits to how far one could innovate within the symbolic realm of the war leader, such that her position within the whole Imbangala project—which was, at this stage, her only means to power—would have collapsed if she had adopted Christianity. Indeed there seems to have been an understanding here that the Imbangala and Christian systems represented inherently contrasting modes of life, and therefore stood for contrasting options of political belonging. Perhaps Njinga subsequently switched sides because she came to consider the Imbangala organizing ethic as more suited for the sustenance of a roving war-band than the consolidation of political

77 *Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi da Montecuccolo, Missione evangelica nel Regno de Congo* (MSS c. 1668) Vol. A, Book 2, chap 3, translated by John K. Thornton at http://www.bu.edu/afam/faculty/john-thornton/cavazzi-missione-evangelica-2/book-2-chapter-3/, though this chapter raises significant source-criticism issues. Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*, 134, 201.

78 Treaties of the governor of Angola with the Queen Dona Ana Jinga, 12 October 1656, MMA XII, 57–61; João António Cavazzi de Montecúccolo, *Descrição histórica does três reinos do Congo, Matamaba e Angola*, trans. G. M. de Leguzzano (Lisbon: 1965), vol. II, 90–3; Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*, 157.

79 Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*, 200–203

80 Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*, 204.

81 Merolla in Pinkerton, Voyages, 305–6.

82 John K. Thornton, 'Ideology and political power in Central Africa: the Case of Queen Njinga (1624–1663):' *Journal of African History*, 32 (1991): 25–40.

83 Ibid., 38.

authority. One specific implication would have been Christian support for the idea that descent from her royal line would count in the matter of succession rather than the Imbangala practice of election by military commanders. But with her death in 1663, and then that of her sister Barbara in 1666, the Christian project in her lands dwindled too.[84]

6.4 Mutapa

The Karanga state of Mutapa was the most formidable in southern Africa, stretching well into the interior from the southern bank of the Zambesi River. The Portuguese strategy along Africa's eastern coastline had been more violent from the start as the rich Muslim-dominated port cities participating in the Indian Ocean trades proved susceptible to Portuguese raids.[85] But with regard to the great interior power of Mutapa, the initial contacts were formed through *lançados* (here known as *sertanejos*). In 1559, the son of a chief of Inhambane, south of Sofala, visited the captain Sebastião de Sá, and requested baptism and the dispatch of a mission.[86] This encouraged among the Portuguese the notion that there was a general desire for the faith in these parts and that a glorious top-down conversion of the whole region could be effected through the Mwene Mutapa, or King of Karanga, himself. A Jesuit mission, led by the Provincial of India Gonçalo da Silveira, was dispatched from Goa to see what could be achieved. Their difficult and malarial-afflicted journey took them first to Inhambane, where they could present the young neophyte glamorously attired in Portuguese dress. The letters sent by the Jesuits, for all of their breathless idealism, do seem to register a genuine desire for association with Christianity among the youths of leading or royal families in particular, and the ruler of Inhambane was baptized as Constantino in 1561.[87]

What happened when the mission reached Mutapa in 1561 represents one of the most pivotal moments for Catholicism in Africa: there seems to have been a real chance that Mutapa would become another Kongo.

84 Cavazzi, *Descrição histórica*, II, 168–73.

85 John K. Thornton, 'The Portuguese in Africa' in Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (eds.), *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: 2007), 145.

86 Gonçalo da Silveira, November 1559, *Documentos Sobre os Portugueses na Moçambique e Africa Central1497–1840* (Lisbon 1962–5) [henceforth DPMAC], VII, 424–5

87 Ibid., 425; See the letters from André Fernandes, Gonçalo da Silveira, and Luís Fróis from 1560 in DPMAC VII, 465–6, 481, 497–9, 503, 545.

According to the detailed account by Luís Froís, when his eminent confrere Gonçalo da Silveira arrived in the city he had been warmly welcomed by the young king who privileged him with a private audience.[88] The king then became very taken with a beautiful image of Our Lady of Grace and requested that she be deposited in his sleeping quarters. After spending four or five nights with her he reported that he had had been dazzled by a vision in which the lady was surrounded by a glorious divine light and uttering foreign words. He then requested baptism, as was his mother's wish, and after due instruction this was carried out. Some 250 or 300 other people of all ranks were also baptized and the priest found himself inundated with gifts. Or so our Jesuit report tells us.

There is little reason to doubt that this was indeed a decisive move founded upon another 'co-revelation': what could go wrong from here? A report from the Portuguese go-between, António Caiado, claimed that Muslim 'sorcerers' had informed the king that the priest had been sent by the governor of India to spy out the land. The water of baptism was the means by which they would come under his power. The priest brought 'the sun and famine in a dead man's bone and many other spells to take possession of the land and kill the king.'[89] That night men were sent to the Jesuit's hut: he was strangled and his body was immediately dragged off to be cast into the river, so that it would not spread its poison by being left out in the sun.[90] In Caiado's report, and more emphatically in the subsequent account by Luís Fróis, we see that Muslim advisors were conflating the political threat of the Portuguese, the way in which they turned commerce into conquest, with the equally uncontrollable power of their rites. It was through such nefarious manipulation of unseen forces that the Portuguese had wrested control of Sofala.[91] The role played by Muslim traders and holy men may possibly be a Portuguese Islamophobic fantasy, and the events around Silveira's martyrdom quickly became pressed into the service of legitimizing the political and spiritual dimensions of subsequent Portuguese invasion. [92] But it is far from implausible that Muslim traders would warn against Portuguese overtures with as much reason as the Kongolese had in Ndongo. How quickly could ritual promise be turned into occult threat! And just as quickly as chiefs on the periphery of Mutapa had signaled their enthusiasm

88 Luís Fróis, 15 December 1561, DPMAC VIII, 42–3.

89 António Caiado, 1561, DPMAC VIII, 5–9.

90 Luís Fróis, 15 December 1561, DPMAC VIII, 56–7.

91 Ibid., 50–1

92 Matthew Schoffeleers. *River of Blood: The Genesis of a Martyr Cult in Southern Malawi. C. AD 1600* (Madison: 1992), 121.

for the mission in anticipation of the king's desires, now they expressed their contempt in the knowledge of his response.[93]

The murder of Silveira was used to legitimize Portuguese expeditions (hunting gold) to attack Mutapa under Francisco Barreto in 1571 and Vasco Homem and while these failed, they left Portuguese settlers strung along the Zambesi valley.[94] Many (known as *muzungos*) settled into local ways of life and political ecologies, holding lands as territorial chieftains in grants by African rulers and then as estates held from the Portuguese crown.[95] Portuguese private armies took advantage of the crumbling Karanga empire and the Mwene Mutapa Gatsi Lusere (1589–1623) came to rely on them, which hardly assisted his prestige.[96] When civil war broke out again in 1628, Mwene Mavura only came to the throne with Portuguese assistance by signing a treaty acknowledging his vassalage to the Portuguese crown and receiving baptism from a Dominican friar. But just as in Angola, this is ruler 'conversion' as mere capitulation, and the fortunes of Karanga had long been on the wane.

6.5 The Bight of Benin

We arrive now at Benin, the last of the three significant polities in non-Muslim Africa. Portuguese travelers found a large and spacious capital city, which impressed them greatly, and clearly reflected the organizational strength that had entailed, for example, the appointment of officers as opposed to hereditary chiefs.[97] Benin also made a promising foray into theological diplomacy after developing trading relations with the Portuguese from 1485. In 1514, the Oba or king sent an embassy to Portugal requesting missionaries, which João de Barros suggested was largely motivated by the desire for firearms (the Portuguese would not trade them unless he was baptized).[98] But was also a

93 André Fernandes, 25 June 1560, DPMAC VII, 487; *Book on the Work of the Society of Jesus in the East*, 1573, DPMAC, 211–3.

94 Thornton, 'The Portuguese in Africa', 154.

95 Disney, *A History of Portugal*, 198–9.

96 Malyn Newitt *Portuguese Settlement on the Zambesi:* Exploration, Land Tenure and Colonial Rule in East Africa (New York: 1973), 48, 52; Thornton, 'Portuguese in Africa,' 154.

97 J D Y Peel 'History, culture and the comparative method: a West African puzzle,' in L. Holy (ed.), *Comparative Anthropology* (1987), 104–5, considers its 'relative centralization' comparatively.

98 A. F. C. Ryder, *Benin and the Europeans* (1969), 46–7. The chronology and identification of the kings of Benin is uncertain. See Stefan Eisenhofer, 'The Benin Kinglist/s: Some Questions of Chronology' *History in Africa*, 24 (1997), 139–156.

certain ritual potency anticipated as well? When they arrived 'the pleasure of the king and his people was such that I cannot describe to you'. They were sent for at once and were kept with him while he fought a war for a whole year before he returned to ponder Christianity and allowed a church to be built.[99] But if his Christians were war-charms, on this occasion they were defective ones and he died on campaign. His baptized son and successor received a mission in 1538, of which we only have one bitter letter from the three missionaries involved as evidence. Beneath their insistent discourse on the wickedness of the king who persisted with his human sacrifices ('diabolical invocations') there are one or two signs that he was intrigued by the missionaries and the objects they took with them.[100] Piecing together a number of scraps of evidence it seems this was a rather plastic stage in the development of royal cult, and that in detaching itself from the ritual authority of Oghene to the east Benin had dallied with Christianity but then instead developed a cult of human sacrifice.[101]

After their initial failure to establish favorable trading relations with Benin, the Portuguese seemed to have cultivated an upstart state in the Rio dos Forçados area based at Ode Itsekiri, which the Portuguese called *oere* or Warri. Here the Portuguese were happy to exchange firearms in return for a package of trade and Christianization.[102] An Augustinian mission was sent from São Tomé in the 1560s or more probably 1570s, which founded a Christian settlement named Santo Agostinho. The reigning Olu, or king, was not baptized but he did consent to the baptism of his son Sebastião, who remained true to Christianity on his accession. The Augustinians were withdrawn in 1584, but the Bishop of São Tomé succeeded in persuading the Olu to send his son Domingos to Portugal in 1600, where he was given a pension and sent for eight years of study in various colleges in Lisbon. African rulers were surprisingly willing to allow their sons to receive a Portuguese education, but as a rule they rarely succeeded to the throne. In this case, however, Domingos returned, bearing a Portuguese noblewoman as a wife. If commercial flows had been midwife to Christianity here, they also stunted its growth, for the region was not destined

99 Duarte Pires, 20 October 1516, MMA I, 369–70.

100 The letter is published as an appendix to A. F. C. Ryder, 'The Benin Missions', *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 2 (1961), 258–9.

101 João de Barros, *Da Asia de João de Barros e Diogo do Couto,* (Lisbon 1778) *Decada Primeira*, Book III, Chapter 4, 181–4; Ryder, *Benin and the Europeans*, 72; Oliver (ed.), *Cambridge History of Africa,* 517.

102 A. F. C. Ryder, 'Missionary activity in the Kingdom of Warri, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 2 (1960); Hastings, *Church in Africa*, 119–20.

to become a major trading centre. The king's revenue was too poor to sustain priests and those that did arrive usually succumbed to disease.[103] And yet the commitment of the kings remained surprisingly durable throughout the 17th century. Sebastião was still reigning in 1620, and was apparently conducting ecclesiastical rites himself, all other priests having died or otherwise vanished. By the accession of Sebastião the royal family at Warri had moved beyond theological diplomacy to a more profound identification with Catholicism that lasted beyond the 17th century. It simply failed to penetrate any further due to a lack of ecclesiastical and Portuguese contact.

Around the mid-17th century, as we have already seen, there was a significant burst of Spanish Capuchin activity in Africa. Further west along the Bight of Benin the ruler of Allada, the leading kingdom of the Yoruba-Aja people, entertained missionaries in the 1650s while Hueda requested them repeatedly in the 1680s and 90s.[104] A Spanish Capuchin mission also arrived in Benin in 1651, after a missionary hiatus of perhaps a century, and walked into a factional conflict between the Oba's mother, who supported Christian contact, and the chief minister who prevented any further meetings from taking place. They wrote home with lurid accounts of bursting bravely upon scenes of human sacrifice—but failed to make an impact.[105] It seems that the elaboration of the royal cult had led to a certain ritual isolation of the Oba at its centre, which court officials and commanders had taken advantage of. By the last decade of the century these tensions were expressed in civil war between the Oba and his chiefs. It was in this context—in which the terms of the monarchy's function were being renegotiated and human sacrifice apparently abandoned—that the Capuchins again received a message indicating the king's willingness to have a mission sent in 1691. Perhaps the Obas were reaching over the heads of their chiefs for new forms of political theology to solve institutional tensions inherent in the development of state power. But in vain: Christianity never made any further advance.

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103 See the report by Francisco de Villanova, 24 October 1597 in Newitt, *Portuguese in West Africa*, 173.

104 We cannot discuss these cases here properly for lack of space but see in particular the fascinating letter from the 'Kingdom of Arda' 17 July 1662, MMA XII, 379–89, and 'Journal du Voyage du Sieur Delbée', in J. de Clodore (ed.), *Relation de ce qui s'est passe dans les Isles et Terre-ferme de l'Amerique*, (Paris: 1671), 2 vols: II, 443; and the discussion in Robin Law, *The Slave Coast of West Africa, 1550–1750: The impact of the Atlantic slave trade on an African society* (Clarendon: 1991), 77–8.

105 Merolla, in Pinkerton, *Voyages*, 302.

6.6 Sierra Leone to Senegal

The main Portuguese centre of power for the western parts of Africa considered thus far has been São Tomé. Much further west, the stretch of coast from Sierra Leone to Senegal came under the influence of the Portuguese settlement at Cape Verde islands, and from 1533 this area came under the diocese of Santiago. From here, there diffused an expansive informal Portuguese influence, for beyond merchants with a license from the Crown there were *lançados* who traded and farmed with the consent of local rulers and abided by local norms, and *tangomãos* who became fully indigenized residents.[106] Recent research has emphasized the role played by New Christians (converted Jews) among these *lançado* communities.[107] There soon sprung up a mixed race population in Cape Verde, and a genuine Luso-African culture. There were also groups of Christianized Africans—Kristons. By the late 16th century, Portuguese and Luso-Africans were an integral part of the riverine and coastal trade flows all along the Upper Guinea coast.

The first context that seems to have precipitated ruler conversions out of this cultural ferment was, however a military one, as in the mid-16th century Mane or Sumba peoples invaded and swept down the whole Upper Guinea region, displacing existing coastal elites such as the Papel and the Bolon.[108] Many Papel ruling families fled to take refuge either among *lançado* settlements on the rivers of Upper Guinea or in the Cape Verde islands themselves. A number of them seem to have had a Christian education.[109] Papel rulers also seem to have turned to Christianity as a means of attracting Portuguese settlement, thereby wresting the flow of trade from Cassanga (or Kassanké) and Mandinka elites in the Cassamance river region.[110] By c. 1594 André Álvares de Almada reported that a king named 'Chapala' on the Cacheu River was to drawn to take

106 See André de Faro, *André de Faro's missionary journey to Sierra Leone in 1663–1664,* (ed.) P. E. H. Hair, 43–5.

107 Toby Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589* (Cambridge: 2012).

108 'Mane' is a generic Portuguese term for the peoples of Sierra Leone, while 'Sumba' seems to have been used for men co-copted into the Mane armies; see Newitt, *Portuguese in West Africa*, 82, footnotes 4, 5.

109 See André Donelha, *Descrição de Serra Leoa ...* in Newitt, *Portuguese in West Africa*, 178–81, and P. E.H. Hair 'Hamlet in an Afro-Portuguese Setting: New Perspectives on Sierra Leone in 1607', *History in Africa*, Vol. 5 (1978), 21–42.

110 George Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society and Trade, in West Africa 1000–1630* (Oxford: 1996), 225, 237.

part in Mass, sternly hushing any white whom he found whispering during the service.[111] Other ruling figures in the area also received baptism.[112]

It was around this time that the Portuguese Jesuit Baltasar Barreira (1531–1612) was active, a very experienced missionary who had spent much time in Luanda and Angola. He had met with rulers from the Rio Grande region before he travelled to Sierra Leone, which had received very little official contact with Christianity up to this point.[113] In the rivers of Sierra Leone, Barreira worked among the warlike conquerors of previous generations, the Mane-Sumba elites who had subdued the area between 1540s-60s, and who had also clearly become accustomed to extensive Portuguese and Luso-African commercial activity. Barreira's greatest exploit here was the conversion of Faran Bure or Burg, who came to meet him when he arrived at Port St. Michael and who also had some facility with Portuguese.[114] He was baptized as Filipe de Leão (Philip of Sierra Leone, after the Habsburg Philip III) in 1605, and Barreira notes the influence of his chief wife who had been brought up among the Portuguese as a Christian.[115] The baptism was part of a compact which involved a request for the construction of the fortress to protect the Portuguese community against pirates and rivals in a letter to his namesake Philip III.[116] Yet according to Olfert Dapper, many decades afterwards the royal family of this area was still using Portuguese Christian names …[117] The same mix of commercial opportunism and acculturation and—more speculatively—ritual fascination stimulated some other local elite figures to court Barriera and sometimes accept baptism.[118]

111 André Álvares de Almada, *Brief Treatise on the Rivers of Guinea*, trans. P. E. H. Hair, (MS. Liverpool: 1984) 77; Cipriano, 10 June 1596, MMA, 2nd series, III, 394; Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers*, 237–8; Henrique Pinto Rema, *As Missões Católicas da Guiné*, (1982), 76–81; Walter Rodney 'Portuguese Attempts at Monopoly on the Upper Guinea Coast, 1580–1650' *The Journal of African History* 6 (1965), 321.

112 Cipriano, 10 June 1596, MMA, 2nd series, III, 394; Rema,*Missões Católicas*, 76–7; Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers*, 240.

113 The Portuguese term 'Sierra Leone' included the coast of Guinea up to the Bissagos islands. André de Faro, *Missionary Journey,* 2.

114 P. E. H. Hair, 'Sources on Early Sierra Leone (5): Barreira',*Africana Research Bulletin* 5 (1975), 90; and 'Hamlet in an Afro-Portuguese Setting', 37.

115 Nuno da Silva Gonçalves, *Os Jesuítas e a Missão de Cabo Verde* (*1604–45*), (Lisbon: 1996), 139.

116 Brooks, *Landlords and* Strangers, 309.

117 John Ogilby, *Africa. Being an Accurate Description of the Regions of Aegypt, Barbary, Lybia and Billedulgerid*, 2 vols. (A translation of Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten*), II, (London: 1670): 375–6.

118 Gonçalves, *Missão de Cabo Verde*, 126–39; Hair 'Hamletin an Afro-Portuguese Setting.'

There was some sporadic activity by Spanish Capuchins, but the next major thrust of missionary activity in the Upper Guinea region would appear to be the Franciscan missions of the 1660s, and we are at once confronted with the problem of the relative poverty of surviving Franciscan documentation when contrasted with that for the Jesuits.[119] After Portugal gained its independence from the Spanish Crown in 1640, Franciscans were chosen to replace the Spanish Capuchins in this region. They were from the Province of Piety, a reformed and discalced branch of the Order, which had provided some of the pioneering friar missionaries sent to the Americas, India and Sri Lanka.[120] The first major mission by Paulo de Lordelo and Sebastião de São Vicente da Beira worked mainly in the area around north of the Cacheu river from 1660.[121] There followed a short trip further south into Sierra Leão, where apparently a 'most powerful King' (but aged) called Granfarma was baptized on his deathbed.[122] The second mission, of André de Faro and Salvador de Taveiro, first visited some of the Guinea-Bissau spots of the previous missions and then again headed south into Sierra Leone, where they found some rulers who had maintained some form of Christian commitment.

Just like their much earlier forebears, these 'piedosos' in Asia give little impression of linguistic ambition and somewhat greater enthusiasm for confrontational acts of idol-smashing. For some of their activities we are forced to rely on later chronicle accounts, which don't inspire much confidence for their breathlessly idealized and brief accounts of serial 'royal conversions.'[123] Nevertheless, they receive partial corroboration from a long report by one of the friars, André de Faro, written shortly afterwards in 1664, and the chronicle accounts contain failures and dead-ends as well as successes, which suggests that we are not simply dealing with the fantastical residue of Franciscan oral tradition.[124] No doubt these rulers were willing to be baptized, but what remains in doubt is—even more profoundly than for the other cases here—are what manner of 'rulers' they were and what their understanding of the religious acts they were asked to participate in was.

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119 The 'relação' of André de Faro in MMA, 2nd series, VI, 178 ff.

120 Alan Strathern '"Os Piedosos" and the Mission in India and Sri Lanka in the 1540s', in *D. João III e o Império. Actas*, (eds.) R. Carneiro and A. Teodoro de Matos (eds.) (2004), 855–64.

121 Fr. Manuel de Monforte *Chronica da Provincia da Piedade* (Lisbon: 1751), 770.

122 Faro, *Missionary Journey*, 65.

123 P. E. H. Hair, 'Franciscan Missionaries and the 1752 'Donation of Sierra Leone', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 30 (2000), 408–32.

124 Faro, *Missionary Journey*.

By the end of the 17th century, Bissau, on the Geba River, had overtaken Cacheu as the major trading centre of the area. The Balanta king of Bissau Becacampol Có gave permission for the construction of a fort there and on 4 February 1696 he was duly baptized. For the Portuguese, this new spiritual compact was a means, they thought, of expelling the influence of other European commercial powers which had now surpassed them. Becacampol seems to have desired Portuguese protection against the French and closer commercial ties and was willing to give the Portuguese at least preferential treatment in return.[125] But he was baptized as he was sickening from a plague and died the next day, and the prospects of Christianity seem to have dissipated amidst the resulting succession dispute.[126]

6.7 Conclusion

Viewed in a certain light, the tendency for African rulers whose affairs brought them into contact with the Portuguese to engage with missionaries is rather striking. While we have not had the space here to explore the variety of reasons why this may be, it is obvious that such engagement was usually accompanied by the hope that the missionary would prove a conduit for secular boons, trade above all. However, this does not mean that we must reduce the ruler's behavior to a simple ruse in the service of realpolitik. The ritual power offered by the missionaries could also come to seem a tantalizing opportunity. It was when the new cult was seen to have proven its 'immanentist' efficacy in some form—in dramatic crises of war or healing above all—that the ruler was liable to move from merely tolerating missionaries to receiving baptism or establishing an enduring commitment. But such apparent efficacy might shift in moral status quite suddenly. Thus Nzinga Nkuwu in the Kongo in the 1490s and the ruler of Mutapa in 1561 suddenly switched to seeing Christianity as an occult peril. We can identify a third stage in the process of 'conversion' in the shift from mere baptism to an attempted Christianization of core vassals and the repudiation of pre-existing religious forms through iconoclasm. This tended to depend on a more visionary appreciation of the merits of social and political reconstruction, perhaps stimulated by a manifest crisis in the system of rule.

125 See the analysis in José Lingna Nafafé *Colonial Encounters: Issues of Culture, Hybridity and Creolisation, Portuguese Mercantile Settlers in West Africa* (New York/Frankfurt,, 2007), 111–6.

126 Avelino Teixeira da Mota, *As Viagens do Bispo D. Frei Vitoriano Portuense à Guiné*, (Lisbon: 1989).

The structural problems involved in abandoning the prevalent forms of sacred or divine authority in this way were, however, far too considerable to allow this step to be taken lightly and amongst major rulers only really in Kongo—and perhaps very briefly in Njinga's Matamba—can it be said to have occurred [127] Elsewhere, as in Benin, rulers expanding their reach through the Atlantic trade showed that they could use more traditional African ritual resources to help fashion state authority.

One of the reasons why this last step was so rarely taken seems to have been the missionary presentation of monogamy as a serious element of conversion. Multiple marriages helped chiefs construct the alliances on which political ascension depended, and this complex web of reciprocity was threatened by any intransigence about the standards of Christian marriage on the part of European missionaries. (Muslim proselytizers, on the other hand, already brought with them an equivalent tradition of polygamy). For all that the reform movements of 16th-century Christianity stimulated missionary fervor, it may be that they also limited what missionaries could achieve in Africa by obstructing organic forms of religious syncretism and cultural co-habitation. Given that later in the 16th century the Jesuits were famously associated with an intellectualized form of accommodation in Asia, is an irony to savor that in Kongo of the 1540s and 50s the Jesuits appear as appalled critics of the local and organic forms of religious rapprochement, or that in Mutapa and Angola it was Jesuit failures to convert kings which helped provide ideological cover for Portuguese aggression.

If these represent obstacles of political and religious culture to Christian missionaries there was also an invisible biological barrier standing in the way of missionary success whose significance cannot be overstated. Whereas in other parts of the world, the Americas and the Pacific most noticeably, disease was a central agent in the dissolution of indigenous social resilience and the triumphant advance of Christianity, in Africa it was Europeans who died like flies. The flow of Catholic missionaries into Africa, particularly into the interior, was regularly reduced to a dribble. The arrival of the Spanish Capuchins in the mid-17th century perhaps indicates what a real injection of missionary energy and personnel could bring.[128]

Lastly, the fact that the Portuguese diaspora was not simply a movement of traders but also a potentially threatening military force and an agent in the destabilizing dynamics of the slave trade, could also undermine the prospects for

127 Warri might count too, but it is a trivial case.

128 Particularly notable in Soyo in Kongo region, see Richard Gray, *Black Christians*, 35–57.

Christianity. In some circumstances, the revelation of imperial could induce political baptisms, but it also led to deep and hardly fantastical suspicions among elites in Angola and Mutapa, for example. Meanwhile, Portuguese incursions helped weaken the one true Christian kingdom in the Kongo in the 17th century. By this time, the Portuguese had become just one among a number of European powers battling for trade along the West coast of Africa. They were even dislodged from stretches of the African coast for a time by the Dutch. Right across coastal Africa, rulers may have realized that their interests were best met by keeping different European groups and their respective mercantilist and religious squabbles at arm's length.[129] The secular logic behind lasting tighter association with the Portuguese had unraveled.

129 For e.g. Brooks, *Landlords*, 314.

PART 3

Islamic World



CHAPTER 7

Missionaries and French Subjects: The Jesuits in the Ottoman Empire

Adina Ruiu

7.1 Introduction: From Crusade to Mission

The first decades of the 17th century marked a turning point in the way in which Catholic Europe related to the geopolitical reality of the Eastern Mediterranean. The ambitious projects of crusade were compromised by competition between the Catholic monarchies and the fragmentation of Western Christianity.[1] Ambitious crusade projects, like the 'spiritual militia' of the Catholic states under the tutelage of the pope and the leadership of France, conceived by Richelieu's *éminence grise*, the Capuchin François Joseph du Tremblay, known as Father Joseph,[2] gradually metamorphosed into a plan for spiritual action—responding to the search for a new political pragmatism, and intended to produce, by means of direct and efficacious action, more lasting results.[3]

The *Memoires et instructions chrestiennes, sur le sujet des Missions étrangeres, et particulierement de celles qui se font en Turquie, et autres pays de Leuant*[4] (1644), capture, at a time when the Catholic missionary network has already been considerably strengthened on the territory of the Ottoman Empire, the passage from violent confrontation to diplomacy (and to a missionary

1 Géraud Poumarède, *Pour en finir avec la Croisade: mythes et réalités de la lutte contre les Turcs aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Paris, 2009).

2 Benoist Pierre, *Le Père Joseph. L'Éminence grise de Richelieu* (Paris: 2007).

3 Another example of hesitation between a call to war and peaceful accommodation is analyzed by Emanuele Colombo: "Entre guerre juste et accommodation. Antonio Possevino et l'islam," *XVIIe siècle*, N° 268 (July-September 2015), 393–407.

4 *Memoires et instructions chrestiennes, sur le sujet desMissions étrangeres, & particulierement de celles qui se font en Turquie, & autres pays de Leuant* (1644). The author could be one of the members of the Society of the Holy Sacrament, Laisné de la Marguerie, actively involved in the funding of Catholic missions in North America and the Mediterranean. On the Society of the Holy Sacrament, see Alain Tallon, *La Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement: 1629–1667* (Paris, 1990).

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diplomacy). The reference to the crusades as a myth and a model to emulate fades, in the spiritual perspective of the *Memoires*, in favour of a demonstration of the inability of temporal action to appropriately serve spiritual objectives. For victories in battle are only ephemeral, as proven even by the exploits of a king as glorious as Saint Louis:

> And in fact, consider how many kings have brought their arms to the Levant, and with some apparently fortunate success have enjoyed universal approbation for their victories, crowns, and human praise within their kingdoms. And nevertheless, wait a while, and you will see that all of their travels, battles, and risks have gone up in smoke, like dust in the wind or a spider's web, without leaving for the present day a single trace of their conquests and victories.[5]

The failure of great projects—the past failure, as well as the present impossibility of following in the footsteps of illustrious predecessors—is made to benefit the cause of the missions. The metamorphosis of the aspiration to crusade, and the reconfiguration of the relationship that it implies between the political and the religious are closely associated, in this 1644 text, with what is practically a reflection upon the philosophy of history. The philological and historical references, the anchoring of the text within the *longue durée* of evangelizing activity, unfold in such a way that the foreground is occupied by the particularities of the present moment, in a century that is perceived as breaking apart from those that preceded it: a century of violence and of division within Christianity, but also of messianic hopes fed by the extra-European expansion of the Catholic powers. What adds to the specificity of the century for the author of the *Memoires et instructions* is the role that France is called upon to play in the American territory as well as in the Mediterranean. The construction of the colony of New France and the opening up of the French missions to the Ottoman Empire are two sides of the same coin, marking the rise of an epoch in which France was supposed to give the example of an Atlantic empire contrasting with the Hispanic model (judged to be cruel and rapacious), and of a prudent policy in the Mediterranean, able to maintain a comfortable space of action for a progressive, but more durable, spiritual conquest.[6]

The urging of a general support of Christian missionary activity makes, in the *Memoires et instructions chrestiennes*, a special case for the 'Levant' (as the

5 *Memoires et instructions*, 147.

6 For an analysis of the French view on interior and foreign missions: Dominique Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire* (Paris, 2003).

title suggests), focusing on the valorization of continuity, turned into a central argument for the duty of France to come to the 'rescue' of Eastern Christians: "Thus we could not apply our charity, nor raise the wings of our zeal for a more dignified subject than for the reduction of the Greeks and other nations of the Levant, where St. John wrote his revelations to the seven Churches of Asia."[7] The duty is the expression of a debt. In the Orient defined by this symbolic contract, it is not the Holy Sites that have the greatest importance, but rather Greece, seen, again, according to a rhetoric of reversal, not as the territory of a schism, but as that of an orthodoxy that was born of the work of the first apostles, who then passed the torch to Western Christianity.[8] Against the rising philological-historical distinctions, the still commonly received confusion between Saint Denis and Dionysus the Areopagite is made to serve the missionary rhetoric.[9] "Do we think that they [the old Patriarchs of the Greek Church] don't accuse the Christians of this century, and mainly France, with saint Denys and his Companions, with St. Irenee, Benigne, Audeol and others, of ingratitude for leaving to the demons the lineage of those who brought our ancestors to spiritual being?"[10]

A neomartyrological account[11] published one year after the *Memoires* by a Jesuit missionary, Isaac d'Aultry, including a preface to the members of the Parisian Marian congregation, posits the same link between France and the 'Levant.'[12] "The alliance that exists between France and the Levant is very old: several Cities of France pride themselves on having holy Prelates sent from Smyrna by St. Polycarp."[13] The chain of debt becomes infinite:

> The Churches of Asia will deem themselves forever honoured by this beautiful Epistle that the Churches of Lyon, and of Vienne, wrote to them more than 1400 years ago, which was printed in French last year to renew

7 *Memoires et instructions*, 367.

8 Ibid., 370–371.

9 Jean-Marie Le Gall, *Le mythe de Saint Denis entre Renaissance et Révolution* (Seyssel, 2007).

10 *Memoires et instructions*, 420–421.

11 For an analysis of the genre and its context, see Tijana Krstic, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford CA, 2011), 121–142.

12 *Relation du martyre de Marc Kyriacopulo, martyrisé à Smyrne le 23. May 1643. la veille de la Pentecoste. Par le R. P. Isaac d'Aultry, de la Compagnie de Jesus* (1645).

13 Ibid., "A Messieurs de la Congregation de Nostre Dame, erigée au grand College de la Compagnie de Jesus," 3.

> the memory of this ancient alliance; I was very consoled to see that, as I had left Smyrna to come ask for help from France, God inspired you to bring to light such an assured testimony of the affection that your Ancestors had for the Levant, I would have liked then, as a deputy of the Levant, to be able to present something on behalf of the Churches of Asia, but the deplorable state in which they find themselves, deprived me of the means of corresponding to your affection …[14]

The circulation of the apostolic message from the East to the West and back is a trope, frequently encountered in missionary writings, which aims to justify the scope of the missions, underlies the definition of strategies, and supports requests for lay funding.[15] France and the Western Catholic world in general are said to owe their salvation to Greece, and therefore must justly return this grace by elevating these territories out of the error and misery of schism. This attitude is not unlike the phenomenon observed by the anthropologist Michael Herzfeld in the perception of modern Greece by Western Europe: the coexistence of veneration towards an idealized past, in the cradle of common values, and of a condescending stance towards the present, described in terms of degradation and decay.[16] In the early modern Catholic view, the common values were those of primitive Christianity; in the modern one, it is democracy and its philosophic-cultural pillars.

France's debt and the Eastern Christianity's misery under the Ottoman dominion informed both the French diplomatic and the missionary discourse: "help" and "protection" are recurrent in the writings of ambassadors, consuls and missionaries.[17] In the following sections, we will look at how the

14 Ibid., 4.

15 Another (early) French Jesuit example can be found in the "Litterae Constantinopolitanae Missionis annorum 1613 et 1614", ARSI, Gal. 101, f. 116–122.

16 Michael Herzfeld, *Anthropology Through the Looking-Glass: Critical Ethnography in the Margins of Europe* (Cambridge, 1999 [1987]), 54.

17 On the concept of protection, see Elisabetta Borromeo, "Le clergé latin et son autorité dans l'Empire Ottoman: protégé des puissances catholiques? (XVe-XVIIIe siècles)," in *L'autorité religieuse et ses limites en terres d'islam: Approches historiques et anthropologiques,* (eds.) Nathalie Clayer, Alexandre Papas, and Benoît Fliche (Leiden, 2013), 87–108; Aurélien Girard, "Entre croisade et politique culturelle au Levant: Rome et l'union des chrétiens syriens (première moitié du XVIIe siècle)," in *Papato e politica internazionale nella prima età moderna*, (ed.) Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Rome, 2013), 419–437; Aurélien Girard, "Impossible independence or necessary dependency? Missionaries in the Near East, the 'protection' of the Catholic States and the Roman arbitrator," in *Papacy, Religious Orders and International Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (ed.) Massimo Carlo

conjugated diplomatic-missionary action was set in motion at the beginning of the 17th century, as France, recently come out of the religious wars, was defining a new balance between the religious and the political. We will start with a close analysis of an individual case: the trajectory of the first Jesuit mission superior in Istanbul demonstrates how service to God and service to the king could blend in a conception of missionary vocation that is both in conflict with and an expression of a family ethos. Secondly, the characteristics of the mission to Constantinople[18] will be highlighted by situating the French Jesuit mission begun in 1609 in the perspective of the first attempts at a Constantinople mission, under Giulio Mancinelli (1583–1586). The next section, enlarging the focus, will examine the French Jesuit mission against the backdrop of French diplomacy and will identify connections between the patronage of missions and the wider-scale policies of the French monarchy. In the last section, we will take a brief look at how the conflict between the religious orders contributed to emphasizing the national identity of missionaries.

7.2 Missionary Vocation

Before becoming known as the superior of the Jesuit mission to Constantinople, François de Canillac (1574–1629) was one of the favorite examples taken by anti-Jesuit and Jesuit pens alike in the quarrels surrounding the parliament's request to expel the Jesuits from the French kingdom. Antoine Arnauld's *Plaidoyé … pour l'Université* quoted Canillac's case as an example of what he considered to be the Jesuit strategy of seduction of the youth (particularly those in possession of a sizeable fortune) in order to recruit and enlarge their material possessions.[19] According to Arnauld, the Jesuits' evil actions were deployed on several, continuous, fronts: as Spanish spies aiming to profit from the religious turmoil shaking political stability in the French kingdom, they were a threat to both royal authority and to the continuity of family lineages and patriarchal order. Thus, Arnauld denounced what he saw as an

Giannini (Rome, 2013), 67–94; Bernard Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la Réforme catholique* (*Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles*) (Rome, 1994), 241–271.

18 Constantinople will be used when referring to the Jesuit mission (since this is how the sources qualify it), and Istanbul when referring to the city in its new political reality.

19 *Plaidoyé de M. Antoine Arnauld, advocat en Parlement … pour l'Université de Paris, demanderesse, contre les Jésuites défendeurs, des 12 et 13 juillet 1594* (1594), 25.

abduction which endangered the survival of one of the most illustrious noble lineages in Auvergne (Arnauld's own Auvergnat roots added more passion to this fearful scenario), since the young novice's brother, Jean-Timoléon de Beaufort-Montboissier, marquis de Canillac,[20] governor of Basse-Auvergne, who was not yet married in 1594, was risking his life every day in the king's service.[21] But the emphasis, in Arnauld's line of argument, fell on the potential appropriation, by the Society, of the family's patrimony: he claimed that it was to this purpose that the Jesuits were delaying Canillac's vows. The Jesuits replied with a letter signed by Jean-Timoléon de Beaufort-Canillac, certifying the authenticity of the novice's vocation, said to be due only to the marvelous intellectual and spiritual education the young man had received at the Jesuit college of Billom.[22] One year later, a more elaborate account was given by Louis Richeome, future (and first) assistant of France in the Roman Jesuit curia, in a polemical text published under a pseudonym.[23] Quoting again the marquis de Canillac's letter, Richeome added a sister's testimony, while nonetheless not diminishing the intensity of the family conflict: if the siblings were in perfect agreement with their brother's religious vocation, such had not been the case for the novice's mother, Gilberte de Chabannes. This was the reason why it was only after his mother's death that the young François was accepted, upon a second request in the place of ultimate resort, Rome, at the Sant'Andrea novitiate.[24] A common trope in religious biographies, particularly favored by those of Ignatian inspiration, the conflict between paternal-maternal authority/affection and God's call in the decision of children to join religious orders was at the core of a serious, and evolving,

20 J.-B. Bouillet, *Nobiliaire d'Auvergne* (1851), t. IV, 218.

21 On Antoine Arnauld's career and its beginnings in Auvergne, see Alexander Sedgwick, *The Travails of Conscience: the Arnauld family and the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge MA, 1998), 11–13.

22 *Sensuivent les principales Requestes de celles, qui ont esté cy devant alleguees. Les autres, comme celles de Bourges, Eu, Billom & villes d'Auvergne, ont esté omises pour briefveté*, [1594]. On the college of Billom, see *Les établissements des Jésuites en France depuis quatre siècles: répertoire topo-bibliographique*, (ed.) Pierre Delattre (1940–1957), t. 1, col. 701–706.

23 *La verité defendue pour la religion catholique. En la cause des Jesuites, contre le Plaidoyé d'Antoine Arnaud, par François des Montaignes* (1595), chapitre XXXVI, "Calomnie sur François de Canillac," 107–110. On Louis Richeome, see Claude Sutto, "Le père Richeome et le nouvel esprit politique des jésuites français (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)," in *Les jésuites parmi les hommes aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (1988), (ed.) G. Demerson, Bernard Dompnier, A. Regond, II, 175–184.

24 8 September, 1593: ARSI, Rom. 171A, 143v.

juridical debate.[25] Arnauld's concern for the fate of this particular branch of the Beaufort-Montboissier family was not ungrounded. Indeed, Jean de Beaufort-Montboissier's will granted the core of its fiefs and titles to his oldest son, Jean-Timoléon, but stipulated that his second born, François, should become his heir were his older brother to die without male descendants.[26] Jean de Beaufort-Montboissier, marquis de Canillac's will additionally stipulated that his dispositions also concerned the descendants of his descendants, and that transmission of patrimony should take place only among male descendants.[27] Typically, male members of the family aspiring to a religious life could embrace their vocation by joining a traditional order, allowing a benefice, ideally in the convents founded by the family.[28] Joining a new religious order was a complicating factor that increased the chances for the aspirants to find themselves in conflict with the parental will.[29]

But François, the rebellious son, was in his own way about to insure a kind of filial continuity. Not because stories could run that he was being "suborned" by the Jesuits much like his father was said to have joined the League because he had been seduced by Marguerite de Valois.[30] His religious call bore a print of his father's ambitions: his identity as a Jesuit was, as he put it in his first recorded *indipeta*, from the beginning fashioned as that of a missionary, aspiring

25 Barbara B. Diefendorf, "Give Us Back Our Children: Patriarchal Authority and Parental Consent to Religious Vocations in Early Counter-Reformation France," *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 68, no. 2 (June 1996): 265–307; René Pillorget, "Vocation religieuse et état en France aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles," in *La vocation religieuse et sacerdotale en France, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles, Actes de la deuxième rencontre d'histoire religieuse organisée à Fontevraud le 9 octobre 1978* (Angers, 1979), 27–39.

26 17 August, 1584. Archives départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, Fonds de Montboissier, 2E053.

27 As Anne-Valérie Solignat emphasized in her study of the strategies adopted by noble families in order to ensure perpetuity of lineage and patrimony, the first born male was the universal heir, but he did not simply come to possess the properties, titles, and arms: he was entrusted with them and therefore responsible for their integrity. Anne-Valérie Solignat, "Fidéicommis et hégémonie politique de la noblesse auvergnate au XVIe siècle," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome - Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* [online], 124–2 (2012), accessed June 3, 2017. URL: http://mefrim.revues.org/734

28 Idem., "Les fondations pieuses de la noblesse auvergnate à la Renaissance. Entre exaltation du pouvoir seigneurial et charge financière pour les vivants," *Histoire & Mesure*, XXVII–1 (2012): 133–160.

29 Barbara B. Diefendorf, "Give Us Back Our Children,"274.

30 *Le divorce satyrique ou les amours de la Reine Marguerite. En forme de factum pour et au nom du roi Henri IV* (1878).

to "help those nations subjugated by the Turk."[31] Was this connected to what perhaps had been the highest point of his father's career in the service of Henri III: being appointed an extraordinary ambassador to Constantinople? It is not clear what obstacles made it impossible to have traces of this office,[32] but the importance this moment took in the family's life is clear from the very text of the will, written by Jean de Beaufort himself on the 17th of August 1584 before setting out on a trip to "Egypt, Judea, Tripoli, Aleppo and other provinces of Asia and Persia." It probably would not be too risky to state that, even if the son did not respect his father's will to the letter, he did so in spirit. His father's religious fervor, which threatened to compromise his years of solid service to the king, as well as the geographical horizons, are both elements that can justify retracing the archeology of François de Canillac's religious vocation to his family upbringing.

In fact, both François and his brother Jean-Timoléon, navigating the difficult years of their youth in a complex religious-political context that commonly led to conflicted allegiances, operated, each in his own way a shift from their father's views, while staying attached to the core of the family values.[33] The same year he defended his brother's choice of joining the Jesuits, 1594, the young marquis de Canillac, at the head of the city of Riom and the duchy of Auvergne, signed the act of obedience to Henri IV. The *Declaration de monsieur le marquis de Canillac et de la ville de Riom* [34] … published in Lyon (1594) shows an acquaintance with Orientalist imagery in the depiction of the violent years of religious wars. The serpents of Egypt stand metaphorically for the foreign warriors who preyed on France, while the French people's fate is described as worse than that of "the slaves of Turkey."[35] By submitting to Henri IV, recently converted to Catholicism, the city of Riom was looking forward to a time of peace and order and the young marquis was reinstating the tradition of loyal

31 5 June 1595: ARSI, FG 733, 45. The letter invokes the obstacles already surpassed in joining the order as a proof for the divine origin of the missionary vocation.

32 Other than echoes in the Spanish ambassador Bernardino de Mendoza's correspondence: Serge Brunet, "Philippe II et la Ligue parisienne (1588)," *Revue historique*, n° 656 (2010): 795–844.

33 Their father's motivations in joining the League are themselves complex and difficult to understand from a purely pragmatic point of view: Jean-Marie Constant, *La ligue* (Paris, 1996). Ariane Boltanski offers a remarkably detailed and subtle analysis of the adhesion to the League in *Les ducs de Nevers et l'Etat royal: genèse d'un compromis* (ca 1550-ca 1650) (Geneva, 2006).

34 *Declaration de monsieur le marquis de Canillac et de la ville de Riom et des habitans d'icelle, reduicts soubs l'obeissance du Roy* (1594).

35 Ibid., 8 and 10.

royal service that had been affected by his late father's participation in the League.

The Jesuit novice pursued the usual path of a Jesuit's formation in the Collegio Romano: if what had brought him to Rome initially were his family difficulties, what prolonged his exile was the Society's expulsion from France. As soon as Henri IV granted the Jesuits the permission to return, François de Canillac was able, as a professed of the third vow and disposing of a share of his family fortune, to contribute to the renewed work and foundations of the Society. His new responsibilities were about to offer him the means of proving how intricately related were his adhesion to his family's ethos and his choice of a religious career. In 1599, his brother's death brought him back to the family's castle at St. Cirgues, where he signed a donation ("donation entre vifz") of all his goods, titles, name, actions and rights, to his two year-old nephew, Jacques-Timoléon de Beaufort, reserving 4000 écus for his sisters Charlotte, Françoise, Marie, and Gabrielle, and keeping for himself 7000 écus, out of which 1000 were to be paid immediately, and the remaining amount in the following four years.[36] Part of this capital was invested in the foundation of the Jesuit novitiate in Lyon.[37]

The 1599 donation is entirely aligned with the noble families' practices of patrimonial conservation. Moreover, the introductory formula recalls the double status of the donor (a noble and a religious of the Society of Jesus, non-professed). While stating his new status and formally putting an end to the old one by letting go of the material and symbolic elements of aristocratic belonging, François de Canillac carefully maintains the justification of the donation within the noble concern for the "conservation and perpetuation of the Grandeur and splendor of [his] house", and the respect of his father's wishes.

Nor does Canillac's nobility appear as an anecdotal fact about his past in the document instating the foundation of the St. Joseph Probation House of Lyon either.[38] Piety and nobility are conjoined in the invocation of the major figures of his ancestry (though here they are not named individually): Canillac is

36 Copy of the donation signed on 24 November, 1599: Archives départementales du Rhône, 18 H-11.In order to ensure the future use of the capital in pious works, the donator designated François de La Rochefoucauld, bishop of Clermont, and Alexandre de La Rochefoucauld, abbot of Saint-Martin, as advisers for the administration of the funds. François de La Rochefoucauld, a close supporter of the Jesuits, was going to be instrumental, as future cardinal, in the constitution of a Franco-Roman network of support for the Constantinople mission.

37 *Les établissements*, t. 2, col. 1574–1576.

38 Institutio Domus Probationis S[anct]ti Josephi Lugdunensis 1605, ARSI, Lugd. 36, f. 177.

introduced as the "great nephew of numerous cardinals and two Holy Fathers." The Beaufort-Montboissier de Canillacs indeed prided themselves on counting among their ancestors Clement VI and Gregory XI (the pope who brought the Holy See from Avignon to Rome), Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny,[39] cardinal Raymond de Canillac, etc.[40] The pious foundations of François de Canillac's grandfather, Marc de Beaufort-Canillac, show the preoccupation with the active commemoration of Clement VI and Gregory XI.[41] It is significant that, at the end of his Roman years, François de Canillac's first anchorage point was going to be Avignon.[42] Avignon was also the city he proposed, in an advisory document he sent years later to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, as the ideal setting of a seminary for Eastern Christians, since less suspicious to the Ottomans than the Greek College in Rome.[43]

Canillac's noble identity was conducive to a cordial relationship with the French ambassador in Constantinople, Jean de Gontaut-Biron, baron of Salignac (1553–1610).[44] Announcing the arrival of the Jesuits on 19 September, 1609, the ambassador let his wife know that the three fathers and two brothers coadjutors newly arrived were French: "two of them whom you have seen in Paris, and they like us (…) and the Reverend Father brother of the Marquis de Canillac their superior."[45] Both Canillac's letters to the general and the letters of the ambassador to Henri IV testify to their mutual respect and friendship.[46] Upon Canillac's request, general Acquaviva (1543–1615) granted the ambassador "participation in the merits of the Society," an important symbolic tool in the congregation of networks around the Jesuits' works.[47] One of the first

39 Peter the Venerable commissioned the first translation of the Quran into Latin. See James Kritzeck, *Peter the venerable and Islam* (Princeton, 1964); Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure: Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à l'islam, 1000–1150* (Paris, 1998).

40 *Carte de la haute et basse Auvergne / par le père Amable de Frétat, de la Compagnie de Jésus … à son altesse monseigneur Emmanuel Théodose de La Tour d'Auvergne, duc d'Albret, cardinal de Bouillon, …* (1672).

41 Archives départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, Fonds de Montboissier, 2E053.

42 ARSI, Lugd. 2, f. 89, f. 101, f. 107–108, f. 125v, f. 133, f. 153, f. 157, f. 169v, f. 184, f. 191v, f. 194, f. 198, f. 208, f. 220, f. 224.

43 Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide (APF), SC Greci, Miscellanea 1, f. 113–116.

44 A benefactor of the Jesuit college of Limoges: ARSI, Gal. 101, f. 240 r-v.

45 ARSI, Gal. 101, f. 183.

46 ARSI, Gal. 101, f. 199 r-v, f. 240 r-v. *Ambassade en Turquie de Jean de Gontaut-Biron, baron de Salignac 1605 à 1610. Correspondance diplomatique et documents inédits*, (ed.) Thédore de Gontaut Biron (1889), 319–320.

47 26 June, 1610. ARSI, Gal. 39, f. 7.

accomplishments of the Jesuits was the conversion of the ambassador's brother, Jacques de Gontaut, seigneur de Carlat.[48] An emblematic religious-political act: Henri IV's example was followed by the brother of one of his closest companions in Istanbul, at the instigation of the French Jesuits. The alliance between the representation of the crown and the mission was sealed when the deceased ambassador was buried at St. Benoît and his books were incorporated into the Jesuits' library.[49]

At the head of the Jesuit mission, François de Canillac was pursuing his family's tradition: the alliance between service to the Church and loyalty to the monarchy.

7.3 From Giulio Mancinelli to François De Canillac

Between the first attempt at a Jesuit mission to Constantinople in 1583, commissioned by Gregory XIII, and the return of the Jesuits under a French superior in 1609, there is one important common trait: the relative precariousness, due to insufficient funding, to the Venetian ambassador's intrigues, and to tensions among the missionaries themselves. Both sets of ordinary correspondence (not the edifying annual relations) exhibit a surprising amount of distress; both the Italian superior, Giulio Mancinelli (1537–1618), and the first French superior, François de Canillac, exhibit a vocation of founders and strategizers, and signs of a difficult adaptation to the daily administration of a mission forced to be discreet and overly cautious.

In the instructions received from Rome the negatives abound: the missionaries were warned not to attempt to converting 'Turks', 'Greeks', 'Jews', 'slaves', 'apostates', 'heretics', and were advised to constantly exercise prudence in their daily activities.[50] The purpose of their mission was to provide religious services to the local Latin community and to Western Catholic ambassadors and merchants. Thus, the strict limits that were officially ascribed to their work risked causing discontent and deflection at any time among missionaries. As circumscribed by the instructions, the mission had a paradoxical character: it resembled the European interior missions, but in coordinates difficult to control and with a much lower degree of success. This is not to say that the normative limits were always faithfully respected. At one time, letting himself be carried

48 ARSI, Gal. 101, f. 199.

49 29 October, 1610. Canillac to Possevino: "he left us, after so many benefices, even his bones." ARSI, Gal. 101, 234.

50 ARSI, Gal. 101, f. 42–42v.

away by hope upon hearing the rumor that Ahmet I took pleasure in collecting 'images', François de Canillac suggested that sending him some of the most beautiful Flemish and Italian painterly figurations of the Virgin might propel the sultan himself to recognize the Christian 'truth'.[51]

After the failure of the first implantation in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, the Jesuits hesitated considerably before launching a second attempt. A consultation took place in 1591, and the documents gathered by the Roman curia, some of which were addressed to Tolomeo Gallio, cardinal of Como (ex-secretary of Gregory XIII), evidence the many reserves that even the more optimistic advisers (among whom Giulio Mancinelli himself) felt compelled to express.[52] The main protector of the mission, Gianfrancesco Morosini, ex-Venetian ambassador to Constantinople, who had become a cardinal in the meantime, advised against a new attempt if all conditions of success were not assured in advance.[53] The political situation in France and the unreliability of the French diplomatic representation in Istanbul were, of course, far from ensuring the desired conditions.

Giulio Mancinelli's surprisingly positive assessment seems to suggest that he attributed his own past afflictions to contextual problems, avoidable by a more careful choice of missionary personnel.[54] His companions had deplored the extremely austere regime that he had put in place: his melancholic temper was a heavy burden for them, confined as they were between the walls of the St. Benedict convent (where they had been lodged by the French ambassador, Jacques de Germigny, baron of Germolle).[55] Exhausted and disillusioned himself, he had chosen to flee the mission, in a decision bordering on utter rebellion.[56]

Uneasiness was felt under François de Canillac's superiorate too.[57] Seen as authoritarian and rigid, and as an unwise administrator of funds who

51 Canillac to Acquaviva, 10 January, 1612. ARSI, Gal. 101, f. 305–306.

52 ARSI, Gal. 101, f. 50–75.

53 ARSI, Gal. 101, f. 62.

54 ARSI, Gal. 101, f. 50–55.

55 ARSI, Gal. 107, f. 82–95. On the coexistence of the two traditions of religious vocation: peregrination and retreat from the world, in Mancinelli's experience, see Pierre-Antoine Fabre, "La misión como visión del mundo. Las autobiografias imaginarias de Giulio Mancinelli (1537–1618)," in *Escrituras de la modernidad: los jesuitas entre cultura retórica y cultura científica*, (eds.) Perla Chincilla and Antonella Romano (Mexico City, 2008), 177–203.

56 Mancinelli to Acquaviva, 8 August and 19 August, 1585. ARSI, Gal. 107, f. 82–83, f. 88–89.

57 For further details on this period of the French Jesuit mission, see Adina Ruiu, "Conflicting Visions of the Jesuit Missions to the Ottoman Empire, 1609–1628," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1 (2014): 260–280.

excessively favored the adornment of the church and the residence, he was also criticized for the constant propensity to look beyond the frontiers of the present mission.[58] Indeed, from very early on, Canillac looked forward to opening the possibilities towards new missionary stations in Naxos, Jerusalem, Cairo, Cyprus.[59] Constantinople, he thought, had greater chances of surviving as a mission if set at the center of a network.[60] But his increasing need for mobility, stated more and more often once the first three years had passed, was, as he himself confessed it, an 'imperfection'[61] of nature, an inclination which could only be amplified by the typical hardships of the mission's superintendence contrasting the modest ambit of apostolic work. Both in Mancinelli's time and in Canillac's time, the Jesuits felt like the Latin community was already well served by the Franciscans and the Dominicans (and this was before the arrival of the Capuchins) and that the missionizing field left for them was too small.[62] Moreover, in 1609 the Jesuits opened their Constantinople mission during the Interdict crisis, and had to confront the Venetian *bailo*'s hostility.[63]

The real source of his restlessness (which echoes the restrictions limiting the sphere of the missionaries' activity mentioned above) becomes evident in his letter from 28 July, 1612, where he notes the reception, via Aleppo, of a letter sent by Jeronimo Xavier from the Mughal court, which caused great fervor in the Jesuit residence of Istanbul: "[It excited] in us a new desire, that one day a way would clear for us too to settle the holy name of Jesus in the hearts of the Infidels and to go further beyond in assisting the neighboring nations."[64]

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58 ARSI, Gal. 101, Charles Gobin to Acquaviva, 16 December, 1610, f. 241–242; 25 January, 1611, Guillaume Lévesque to Acquaviva, f. 250 r-v; 24 March, 1612, Ignatio Erranti to Acquaviva, f. 324–326; Domenico Mauritio to Mutio Vitelleschi, 5 August, 1615, f. 429 r-v; Jean-Baptiste Jobert to Vitelleschi, 11 December, 1615, f. 502–503.

59 ARSI Gal. 101, f. 225, f. 347r-v.

60 ARSI Gal. 101, f. 487.

61 24 August, 1612: "[if the residence remains] as it is it cannot endure, because no one will stay here voluntarily", ARSI, Gal. 101, f. 359–360; 22 September, 1612, Gal. 101, f. 368 r-v.

62 Unfortunately, Franciscans and Dominicans are left in the shadow here, for practical purposes. For details on the Franciscan missions, we refer the reader to a couple of recent studies: Megan Armstrong, "The Missionary Reporter," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et réforme*, vol. 34, No. 1/2 (2011), 127–158; Felicita Tramontana, *Passages of Faith: Conversion in the Palestinian Villages: 17th century* (Wiesbaden, 2014).

63 Salignac to Henri IV, 20 September, 1609. J.-M. Prat, *Recherches historiques et critiques sur la Compagnie de Jésus au temps du P. Coton: 1564–1626* (Lyon: 1876–1878), vol. 5, 258–260.

64 ARSI, Gal. 101, f. 353 r-v.

This reads like a letter from a European Jesuit probation house, and it speaks for the infinite and ardently militant nature of the missionary ideal.

In Canillac's case more than in Mancinelli's, it is much more difficult to distinguish between the different sources of this desire to move on to a new missionary territory: while confessing his inadaptation to the 'care of the others', he cautiously translated his request for mobility as a condition of success of the present endeavor. In this view, new residences were needed for the sake of the stability of the Constantinople mission (its pension, and therefore status, were not permanent, and risked being reduced to a mere experiment, like Mancinelli's mission). New residences across the region would have helped enlarge the scope of the Constantinople mission, offering a complement and at times a refuge, and boosting the Jesuits' motivation.[65] But the importance of the mission in the Ottoman capital remained unshaken: this was the window through which, supported by the French ambassador, the Jesuits could have shown the Ottoman authorities that their activities were not subversive and did not constitute a threat to political authority. All the more, they could prove that better Christians make better Ottoman subjects: a view that seems to be transferred directly from the polemical context that Jesuits were facing in France.[66]

Canillac also asked for permission to go back to Rome. A trip to Rome was needed for a clear and detailed report (letters cannot convey the state of things in depth) of three years of mission, in concordance with Ignatius's vision.[67] The open possibility of going to Rome was also meant as a guarantee of safety in case the Greek Orthodox patriarch wanted to make him an ambassador of his message of peace and union with the Roman church.[68]

Francis Xavier "did not hesitate to leave Japan in order to return to Goa," wrote Canillac, before setting out on a trip to Rome and France, in order to obtain royal patronage for his pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the necessary subsidies for new projected missions.[69]

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65 3 September, 1611: writing from Chios, he proposes the conjunction of the two residences: Gal. 101, f. 286. Several letters of general Vitelleschi to Antonino Filipazzi, the superior of Chios, refer to Canillac's attempts to detach the residence of Chios from the Province of Sicily and associate it to the Constantinople mission, 13 years later, in 1624. The general is opposed to Canillac's initiatives (ARSI, Sic. 8 II, f. 483 r-v, f. 496 r-v.)

66 ARSI, Gal. 101, f. 303.

67 Ibid., f. 368 r-v.

68 Ibid., f. 305–306.

69 18 January, 1613. Gal. 101, f. 378 r-v.

7.4 France, Rome, and the Jesuits

The opening of the mission in the heart of the Ottoman Empire needs to be considered in its connection with the series of reconciliatory gestures that Henri IV directed towards the Jesuits since 1603 - as many reassuring signs to the League, according to Eric Nelson's convincing analysis of the Henrician policy towards the Jesuits.[70] The Jesuits' return to favor [71] brought them the (re) opening of colleges, funding for the Canadian missionary prospects, and diplomatic support on three main fronts: in the negotiations surrounding the Venice Interdict crisis[72] in which France played the role of intermediary between Venice and Rome; in the Roman court,[73] with respect to theological debates, editorial projects[74] or the canonization of their saints; and the opening of the Constantinople mission (based on negotiations between Constantinople, Rome, and Venice).[75]

Henri IV's (de Navarre) letter to the recently elected Paul V from 27 July, 1605 is at the same time a significant diplomatic gesture meant to demonstrate the king's support of the Society after the ban, and a symbolic takeover of its very heart. "Very holy father, we had previously made a request to the late pope Clement for the canonization of the blessed fathers Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier, both from Navarre; and because death prevented His Holiness from giving us the contentment we were expecting from this good work, we thought Your Holiness would take pleasure in participating in it."[76]

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70 Eric Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France (1590–1615)* (Aldershot, 2005).

71 Henri IV made sure that the Jesuits understood they owed this return in favor to himself exclusively, and not to Acquaviva's or the nuncio's intervention. Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV), Borghese IV 273, 37v; Rémi Couzard, "Le rétablissement des jésuites en France par l'édit de Rouen, 1er septembre 1603," *Revue Henri IV*, t. II (1908), 90–110.

72 Sylvio Hermann de Franceschi, *Raison d'État et raison d'Église: la France et l'Interdit vénitien (1606–1607): aspects diplomatiques et doctrinaux* Paris, (2009).

73 J.-M. Prat, *Recherches critiques et historiques*; A. D. Wright, "French Policy in Italy and the Jesuits, 1607–1638," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 75 (Lyon, 2007), 275–286.

74 BNF Cinq cents de Colbert 351, 120.

75 Henri Fouqueray, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France, des origines à la Suppression (1528–1762)*, t. III (Paris, 1922), 196–215; Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Reti informative e strategie politiche tra la Francia, Roma e le missioni cattoliche nell'impero ottomano agli inizi del XVII secolo," in *I Turchi, il Mediterraneo e l'Europa*, (ed.) Giovanna Motta (Milan, 1998), 212–231.

76 *Lettres de Henri IV concernant les relations du Saint-Siège et de la France, 1595–1609*, (ed.) Bernard Barbiche (Vatican City, 1968), 100.

The years leading up to the opening of the Canadian and the Constantinople missions were marked by an increased diplomatic French activity in Rome, meant to balance the Spanish influence in the Curia by naming French cardinals and trying to attach foreign ones to French interests by a system of pensions.[77] Emulating the Spanish model precipitated the French monarch's interest in patronizing missions, which constituted as well an efficient internal policy of attracting and solidifying the loyalty of the members of the League.[78]

The French ambassadors also carefully watched the activity of the religious orders and sought to secure access to their centers of authority for French members of these orders. On 5 February, 1608, ambassador d'Alincourt reported his meeting with Claudio Acquaviva, in which he had reassured the Jesuit general of the king's desire to assist the Society in the Roman curia, but also his interest in the appointment of a French assistant in the following general congregation.[79] When the Jesuits gathered in Rome for their congregation, d'Alincourt wrote: "I have testified to all the French who came the confidence Your Majesty has in their general, which has greatly obliged them and all the more incited them to apply themselves promptly to the election of the French assistant among them, whom Your Majesty showed him to desire so much."[80] On 18 March, 1608, d'Alincourt announced the election of Louis Richeome, provincial of Lyon, as the first French assistant.[81] The ambassador substantiated his promise of help by hindering the Dominicans' initiative to make Paul V reconsider the judgment rendered by cardinal du Perron in the theological debate between Jesuits and Dominicans, and to condemn Luis de Molina's works.[82]

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77 Bernard Barbiche, "L'influence française à la cour pontificale sous le règne de Henri IV," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, t. 77 (1965), 277–299; Guido Metzler, *Französische Mikropolitik in Rom unter Papst Paul V Borghese, 1605–1621* (Heidelberg, 2008); Olivier Poncet, "Structure et conjoncture de la représentation pontificale en France à l'époque de Paul V (1605–1621). L'enseignement des instructions," in *Die Aussenbeziehungen der römischen Kurie unter Paul v. Borghese (1605–1621)* (Rome, 2008), (ed.) Alexander Koller, 143–157; Olivier Poncet, *La France et le pouvoir pontifical, 1595–1661: l'esprit des institutions* (Rome, 2011).

78 ASV Borghese IV 273, 57v; Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Il papato e le missioni extra-europee nell'epoca di Paolo V," in *Die Aussenbeziehungen der römischen Kurie unter Paul v. Borghese (1605–1621)* (Rome, 2008), (ed.) Alexander Koller, 367–390.

79 BNF, Ms. Français 18003, 25 r-v.

80 Ibid., 39.

81 Ibid., 58v.

82 Ibid., 79v–80r. On the *de auxiliis* controversy, see Mario Fois, S.I., "Il generale dei gesuiti Claudio Acquaviva (1581–1615), i Sommi Pontefici e la difesa dell'istituto ignaziano," *Archivum Historiae Ponteficiae*, 40 (2002), 199–233.

It is important to note that the ambassadors' support during their official tenure in Rome cemented patronage relations, which the Jesuits cultivated even after the ambassadors' return to France. Acquaviva wrote to ex-ambassador d'Alincourt in order to renew the Society's expression of gratitude for the services offered in Rome, and to beg him to continue his protection.[83] Charles de Neufville, marquis d'Alincourt, son of Nicolas IV de Neufville, marquis de Villeroy (who was of a crucial support to the Jesuits at Henri IV's court), could be as useful to the Society in his new quality as governor of Lyon. Mutio Vitelleschi, Acquaviva's successor, announced his election as general to François Savary de Brèves, whom he had met personally in Rome, and asked for the continuation of the ex-ambassador's good services.[84]

François de Savary de Brèves (1560–1628) had pursued d'Alincourt's negotiations and had been of crucial help in the opening of the French Jesuit missions.[85] In the letter sent on October 30, 1608, he let Henri IV know the impact that the royal promotion of the canonization of Ignatius and Francis Xavier had on the Jesuit curia. "He [Louis Richeome] told me a few days later that this had brought as much contentment to the entire body of the Society … and that he found that the Italians and the Spaniards showed as much joy and prosperity as those who were born [His Majesty's] subjects."[86] On 5 August, 1609, he reported having accepted the Jesuits' invitation to the commemoration of Ignatius in their church, of which ceremony he gave full details in the letter to the secretary of state Villeroy.[87] This moment took on a particular importance in Savary de Brèves's diplomatic period in Rome, as was to prove his decision to publish, when he was removed from the office of preceptor of Louis XIII's brother, the letter sent by Henri IV congratulating him on the way he had imposed France's precedence in the commemoration of Ignatius.[88] In turn, negotiating the Capitulations and settling the French Jesuit mission were the

83 ARSI, Gal. 47 I, 5v–6r, 13 r-v, 14v, 16r.

84 ARSI, Gal. 47 I, 28v. Thanks to his proximity to Maria de' Medici and Concino Concini, Savary de Brèves was going to be appointed Gaston d'Orléans' preceptor.

85 On Savary de Brèves, see Isabelle Petitclerc, "François Savary de Brèves, ambassadeur de Henri IV à Constantinople, 1585–1605: diplomatie française dans l'Empire ottoman et recherche orientaliste," Ph. D. dissertation Lille 3 (1989); Guy Thuillier, "Un «politique» au XVIIe siècle: Savary de Brèves (1560–1628), *La Revue administrative*, 368 (Mars 2009), 124–129.

86 BNF Cinq cents de Colbert 351, 160–161.

87 BNF Français 18004, 235–237.

88 *Discours véritable fait par le sieur de Breves, du procedé tenu lorsqu'il remit entre les mains du Roy la personne de monseigneur le duc d'Anjou, frere unique de sa Majesté* (1618), 44.

highlights of his ambassadorship in Constantinople: "At that time, it was granted to me that the Jesuit fathers, who would be of French nationality, could live in a church assigned to France, named Saint Benedict ('Saint Benoist'): at my return I brought the permission, that I gave to the late Henry the Great, of blessed and glorious memory, Father Coton being present, who is one of the Fathers of this Society: and as a consequence of this permission, a number of these Fathers were established in this Church, which is located in the place named Pera, in Constantinople."[89]

Savary de Brèves was a peculiar figure, not fitting the common portrait of a French ambassador to Rome.[90] Neither a church man nor a member of the Nobility of the Sword, he owed his ascension to the experience of diplomatic affairs he had acquired during the twenty-two years he spent in Constantinople, accompanying his uncle and later on as an ambassador himself (1591–1605). The masterfulness with which he managed to negotiate the renewal of the capitulations in which he succeeded in including the French protection of the Holy Land gained him Henri IV's trust. This achievement also recommended him in the Roman court, although his long Constantinople sojourn was a double-edged sword. In his Roman audiences, he was able to use his insights on the Ottoman Mediterranean views and military might which comforted Paul V's crusade plans.[91] But at the same time, his manners did not make of him the perfect courtier. "Having been for twenty-one years in Constantinople, he is little instructed in the matters of Italy and one can say of Europe," the nuncio Roberto Ubaldini warned in his letter to cardinal Scipione Borghese on 29 April, 1608, days before Savary de Brèves set out on his journey to Rome, to take up the embassy.[92] "Because by many he is considered a man maybe too ardent, I tried to persuade him that in negotiating with His Holiness he would find moderation more efficient, and more useful."[93]

François de Savary de Brèves is an example of the transition that gradually ensued in the way the West conceived its relationship to the Ottomans. If the ideals of the crusade were still a point of reference, they retreated to a

89 Ibid., 17.

90 Olivier Poncet, *La France et le pouvoir pontifical*, 242.

91 Savary de Brèves reported the illusory character of Paul V's crusade plans: "The progress that the arms of the Turks can make will never be prevented by him otherwise than by wishes of finding another solution, or of forcing the Christian princes to make Leagues in order to oppose them, I find his spirit and his vivacity too weak." (5 March, 1609. BNF Cinq cents de Colbert 351, 274)

92 Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Borghese IV 273, 75v.

93 Ibid.

metaphorical register and gave way to a pragmatic approach to inter-state relations in the service of a global balance of power.[94] Savary de Brèves illustrates the ambivalent position of someone who is both a caller to arms and an insightful diplomat.

The text formulating his views of a project of crusade expresses a high degree of tolerance towards the Christian churches. "It would be useful to not make any difference between those of the Greek faith, and of ours; to hear their masses, to honor their ecclesiastics, to make the sign of the cross like them, to approve their fasting, and to imitate them as much as possible; to place their ecclesiastics at the head of our army, treating as well as possible the Christians of that land, and being as severe as possible with those who would like to mistreat them."[95]

Is it possible to imagine that he inspired the diplomatic approach that Canillac applied in his dealings with the Greek Orthodox patriarch? Is he also partly at the origin of the project of multiplying the residences across the Empire? "All Asia is inhabited by Greek and Armenian Christians; the latter are more numerous, and more affectionate to the Latins, than the Greeks."[96]

His project of crusade was based on a firm belief in a spontaneously harmonious relationship between the Catholic armies and the Christian Ottoman subjects who would rejoice in being freed. According to Savary de Brèves, what rendered crusade impossible was the rivalry between the Western powers. France was, in his view, forced by its enemies to cultivate the Sultan's friendship. But this was not an act of treason, or entirely inspired by self-interest, since France's alliance with the Ottoman sultan ensured the "conservation of the Christian name, and of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, in their country,"[97] and this in itself he thought would bring on "the entire ruin of the Mahometan sect."[98] Savary de Brèves is thus not preaching the end of Islam by proselytizing, but by strengthening the local Christian churches.

It is not unimportant that the French Jesuit mission debuts in Istanbul at a moment at which the French ambassador to Rome is the ex-ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. The mission has a very concrete double patronage: Roman and French. But if the Roman one, in continuity with Gregory XIII's provisions,

94 As shown here, in section 7.1.

95 *Discours abrégé des asseurez moyens d'aneantir & ruiner la monarchie des princes ottomans. Faict par le sieur de Breves* [between 1614 and 1620], 42.

96 Ibid., 45.

97 *Discours sur l'alliance qu'a le Roy avec le Grand Seigneur, & de l'utilité qu'elle apporte à la chrestienté* [between 1614 and 1620], 5.

98 Ibid.

substantialized in funding, the French monarch did not support it directly. The Roman pension itself did not presuppose a permanent foundation, hence the repeated requests, coming from ambassadors to Rome and Constantinople, as well as from the Jesuit superior, for letters of support and funding.[99] The paradox of the mission was that it had to be French in order to benefit from the ambassador's diplomatic assistance at the Porte, but that it was not overtly introduced as sent, or desired by Henri IV. De Brèves had to write to Henri IV: "Since the King lent a hand to this work, it seems that His Majesty must maintain them there, and testify to the Venetian Signori that the said Fathers are under his protection, being all his subjects and sent by His Majesty, ordering the said *Bailo* to not trouble them."[100]

7.5 The Conflict between Religious Orders

The Jesuits have a fifteen-year lead on the Capuchins in opening up a mission in Istanbul, the Ottoman capital. The arrival in 1622 of Pacifique de Provins initiated the long history of the coexistence of the Jesuit and Capuchin missions, under the protection of France, in the Ottoman Empire, a history that is marked by episodes of confrontation anticipated by the claims surrounding the bodies buried at St. Benoît, found intact by the Jesuits in 1610. They belonged to the Capuchins from the mission of Giussepe di Leonessa,[101] according to the report of Pacifique de Provins to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide; or to the Jesuits from the mission led by Giulio Mancinelli, according to the opinion of François de Canillac (confirmed by Mancinelli himself).[102] The identity of the bodies was not only a symbolic issue: its foundational value secured juridical recognition from the Ottoman authorities too, as shown by the firman allowing French Jesuits to come back to Istanbul, after their temporary expulsion in 1628, in order to take care of their dead: "not having these

99 ARSI Gal., f. 199 r-v, 201 r-v, 203 r-v, 310 r-v.

100 29 November, 1609: J.-M. Prat, *Recherches historiques*, 262–263.

101 On this mission: Arsène du Chastel, "Un épisode de la vie de St-Joseph de Léonesse. La première installation à Constantinople (1587–88)," *Études franciscaines* 2 (1889), 489–494, 3 (1890), 52–65. Wenceslas de Saint-Gildas-de-Rhuys, *La mission de Saint Joseph de Léonesse à Constantinople* (Blois, 1956).

102 "Lettre du R. P. François de Canillac, de la Compagnie de Jésus, aux Pères et Frères de la même Compagnie qui sont en France," 30 October, 1610, in *Documents inédits concernant la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 11, (ed.) Auguste Carayon (Poitiers: 1864), 51; ARSI, Gal. 101, 76. "Breve Relatione," APF, SOCG 286, 26.

Ecclesiastics anyone to serve their dead they will elect again those who will be ready to come, of the order of those who were sent away, but who should not be of the countries who make war, but French …"[103]

If the Jesuits had had at first the exclusivity of the French missionary projects at the Ottoman Porte, the later arrival of the Capuchins was going to lead to jurisdictional conflicts. Favoured on the one hand by the power that Father Joseph held within the Council of State and by his interest in the missions (a conversion of his project of crusade), and on the other hand by the newly created Congregation de Propaganda Fide, of which they became the kingpins, the Capuchins quickly opened their missions in Istanbul, in the archipelago of the Aegean Sea (1628), in Syria (1626), and went all the way to Armenia, Georgia, and Persia (1629).[104] In Izmir, for example, they replaced the Jesuits as chaplains of the French consul, who had a new church made for them: a feat decried by the Jesuits, in the name of the rights of their order, and of the danger that this represented for the fate of the Catholic religion in the Ottoman Empire.[105]

For the Capuchin as much as for the Jesuit missions, ambassadors and superiors were insisting on the necessity of sending French subjects. This was chiefly a political argument, but it was also a practical one: on the one hand, the ambassador could intervene at the Ottoman Porte in order to protect French subjects; on the other hand, the cohesion of the groups of missionaries was thought to be easier to attain if they had a common political allegiance and language. As we have seen, the Jesuits were not able to separate themselves from the renown that followed them beyond the boundaries of the Catholic states. The transnational character of the order was perceived as more menacing than for any other order. Roman centralism and the Iberian heritage of the Company were two other elements of their image responsible for the length of argument to which the missionaries had to go in order to underline their French identity, and if necessary their Frenchness to the exclusion of any other aspect of their identity. Domenico Maurizio, a Jesuit from Chios and thus a subject of the sultan, imprisoned at Cyprus in 1627, asked for the intervention

103 ARSI, Gal. 102, 140 r-v. On the 1628 expulsion, Ruiu, "Conflicting Visions," 272–278.

104 Benoist Pierre, *Le Père Joseph*, 211–214. On the Congregation de Propaganda Fide: Giovanni Pizzorusso, "La congregazione pontificia de Propaganda Fide nel XVII secolo: missioni, geopolitica, colonialismo," in *Papato e politica internazionale*, 149–172. For a larger context of the missionary activity deployed by the Capuchins of the Province of Paris: Jean Mauzaize, *Le rôle et l'action des Capucins de la province de Paris dans la France religieuse du XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1978).

105 ARSI, Gal. 97 I, 6–89.

of the ambassador in order to be freed, claiming that he was more French than Chiote, having spent a large part of his career in Istanbul among French Jesuits and with the ambassador.[106] He had been 'imported' from the Chios Jesuit residence because of the shortage of missionaries who could speak Greek, but also thanks to his knowledge of mathematics, which together ensured that he would be a good companion to the ambassador de Sancy, himself a passionate mathematician.[107] The Jesuit college of Chios, which pertained to the Province of Sicily, was a point of passage, of training and of exchange, of fundamental importance for the development of the Jesuit missions. François de Canillac had tried from the beginnings of the Constantinople mission to formally attach the college of Chios to the mission in Constantinople.[108] At the turn of the 18th century, it was to find itself at the heart of a controversy between Jesuits and Capuchins. It was a new conflict surrounding the chaplaincy of the French vice-consulate: after the invasion by the Venetians in September 1694 and the Ottoman reconquest, six months later, the Jesuits took advantage of the temporary absence of the Capuchins in order to demand of the ambassador to obtain for them the status of chaplains. Their request rested on the prior arrival of the Jesuits on the island; the Capuchins replied that it was not French Jesuits who had been there before them, but Chiote Jesuits, subjects of the sultan, thus incapable of ever having been chaplains of the consulate.[109]

While the 'only French missionaries' restriction was defended and the exceptions were bemoaned in the name of a legal principle, what was intended was the exportation of a Catholicism with a distinctly French brand, under the tutelage of the king of France. The ambassador Philippe de Harlay, count of Césy, intended to play a de facto role as the superintendent of the Catholic missions, immersing himself in the nomination of missionaries, of the Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy, attempting to impose himself as an intermediary in the relations between the Catholic community of Pera, the religious orders, and the congregation. At one point, he even claimed that the Propaganda Fide

106 ARSI, Gal. 95 I, f. 374 r-v.

107 ARSI, Gal. 101, f. 303. Sancy was an admirer of Christopher Clavius's works: Gal. 101, f. 300.

108 ARSI, Sic. 8 II, f. 483 r-v, f. 496 r-v.

109 *Précis pour les R.R. P.P. capucins de la Province de Paris, missionaires en Grèce, contre les R.R. P.P. jésuites français, aussi missionnaires en Grèce* [1712], *Second mémoire pour les Pères capucins de la Province de Paris, servant de réponse au mémoire des Révérends Pères Jésuites français, aussi missionnaires en Grèce* [1717], *Requête contenant inventaire de pièces. Au Roi* (*pour les pères capuchins …*) *… au sujet de la chapellenie du vice-consulat de Scio* [1718]. Archives Nationales Marine AE B1 3, f. 211.

grant, by means of a brief, "power and authority to the ambassadors of France as the principal protectors of the churches and of the Christians of the Levant, to act in these cases [missionaries with dissipated morals], according to circumstances, either in favour of imprisonment or of the expulsion of the guilty parties," with the obligation for the ambassadors to appeal to the judgment of theologians and specialists in canon law, "such as the patriarchal vicar and the Jesuit fathers."[110] While expressing in his correspondence with the Roman cardinals or with the general of the Jesuit order, the diverse associations between the ethos of service to the king and the defense of the interests of the Roman church, he did not forget to capitalize on the success of his Roman dealings at the court of France, where the matter of the debts that he had incurred in his function in Istanbul (and which the Marseillais merchants refused to settle) never ceased to cause him worries. The fact did not fail to stir up the malice of the Venetian *bailo*, and enabled him to disqualify the actions of de Césy, not only in the name of an opposition between monarchical and republican values, but also between public and private interests.[111] The Venetian *bailo* looked very harshly on the French missions at Istanbul and in the archipelago. The Jesuits seemed to him more pernicious than the Capuchins: a *dispaccio* addressed to the senate by the *bailo* Sebastiano Venier in 1628 noted the rapid advances of the Capuchin foundations, but the bailo manifested a greater degree of tolerance towards these missions since, as he put it, "chasing them away is something I consider very difficult, and maybe it would be seen as a despicable action, since until now one cannot attribute to them the defects that to others were notoriously attributed."[112] What's more, Venier played an instrumental role in the temporary suppression of the Jesuit mission in 1628: an episode that crystallized the fundamental coordinates of the relationship between the political and religious identities of the missionaries.

7.6 Conclusion

Although a bit schematic and partial, to the extent that it is focused on the beginnings of the Jesuit mission to Constantinople, the present study has shown how the mission emerged from the conjunction of several factors. The progressive Gallicanization of the Society intended by the French monarchy, the vivid traces of the political-religious turmoil that had shaken the kingdom, the

110 APF, SOCG 286, 400.

111 On Philippe de Harlay, count of Césy: Ruiu, "Conflicting Visions," 272–278.

112 Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Dispacci 106, f. 79r.

affirmation of a French international politics that spanned from North America to the Eastern Mediterranean and that led to the gradual fading of the ideals of the crusade, all these elements contributed to a political situation favorable to the opening of a French Jesuit mission in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. The mission's purpose was not the conversion of Muslims, but stood in continuity with the Catholic Reform within Europe. The main objective was to maintain and reinforce the Catholic communities in the Empire, and at the same time to develop close ties with the Eastern Churches. After an outline of this general context, we saw how it influenced the paths of individual figures. We looked mainly at the trajectory of a Jesuit missionary descending from a noble family with a long tradition of service to the Church and to the monarchy, and also at the activity of an ambassador whose career aligned Istanbul and Rome, and who was at the same time an author of crusade projects and an adept of refined diplomacy, based on a deep knowledge of the realities of the Ottoman Empire. Attempting to approach the topic from several angles, the analysis has not always done justice to the complexity of the sources, but hopefully it has demonstrated the importance of navigating several historiographies: for the present exercise, the history of missions, diplomatic history, and the social history of the nobility were particularly put to use. But in order to go into further detail, the history of the Eastern Churches and the social history of the Ottoman Empire, to name only two other main blocks of historiography, are of vital importance.

CHAPTER 8

Ambiguous Belongings: How Catholic Missionaries in Persia and the Roman Curia Dealt with *Communicatio in Sacris*[1]

Christian Windler

8.1 Introduction

In 1721 the Latin bishop of Isfahan, the Dominican Barnaba Fedeli di Milano, explained in a letter to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome that Catholic Armenians in Persia were forced to attend the churches of "schismatics" for baptisms, matrimony, and funerals lest they face persecution at the hands of "schismatic" priests. Fedeli deemed these sacramental practices permissible, as they did not imply a declaration of faith to a "false sect," did not cause scandal and upheaval, and there was no risk that they confirmed the "schismatics" in their errors. In the same vein, Fedeli thought it unproblematic for Catholic Armenians to attend "schismatic" services, so long as they had been made aware of the errors in the Armenian mass. Conversely, the bishop opposed Catholics making confession to schismatic priests or receiving communion from them. In that case, he warned, there would be a serious risk of great scandal and upheaval.[2]

Bishop Fedeli's letter was a response to a set of questions that the Holy Office had ordered the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith to put to missionaries familiar with the Ottoman Empire and Persia. While reviewing three

1 This chapter was translated into English by Samuel Weber (Bern).

2 P. Barnaba Fedeli di Milano, O.P., Bishop of Isfahan, to Cardinal Giuseppe Sacripanti, Prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, 29.6.1721; undated Relatio (Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Rome [hereafter: ACDF], Sanctum Officium, St.St., M 3 a, XIV, f. 290r/v, 400r).—The author would like to thank Nadine Amsler (Bern) for her insightful comments on an earlier draft and Samuel Weber (Bern) for the English translation of an earlier German version of this chapter which was published as Christian Windler, "Uneindeutige Zugehörigkeiten. Katholische Missionare und die Kurie im Umgang mit 'communicatio in sacris,' in: *Konfessionelle Ambiguität. Uneindeutigkeit und Verstellung als religiöse Praxis in der Frühen Neuzeit*, (eds.) Andreas Pietsch/Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger (Gütersloh: 2013), 315–346.

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dubia sent in by abbot Mechitar of the Armenian monastery of San Lazzaro in Venice, the Holy Office wanted to substantiate the abbot's assertion that Catholic Armenians in the Ottoman Empire were forced to reach out to "schismatic" priests for baptisms, funerals, and marriages. In addition, the missionaries were asked to weigh in on "whether the receipt of sacraments in Catholic churches posed a grave danger to [Catholic Armenians], whether *communicatio in sacris* was tantamount to adherence to a false sect and, finally, whether it really caused scandal (*scandalum*)."[3]

The information thus collected was to form the basis for a decision of the Holy Office on how the Roman Catholic Church should deal with a number of sacramental practices that were collectively described as "communicatio in sacris". Under this heading the Roman Catholic Church grouped all sacramental interactions of Catholics with members of other Christian denominations. By its very nature, *communicatio in sacris* conflicted with the unambiguous affiliation to one denomination which the confessional churches were trying to impose on the faithful in Europe at the time. On the face of it, an ecclesiastical community that saw itself as the one true church of Christ could not help but disapprove of *communicatio in sacris*. And in fact, superiors of the orders, the Holy Office and the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, which had been founded in 1622, all voiced opposition to *communicatio in sacris* in a number of decisions throughout the 17th century.[4] Surprisingly, though, a general prohibition was decreed only in 1729, and even after that the seemingly unequivocal ban continued to be questioned by the consultors and the cardinals of the Holy Office, as well as clerics on the ground, such as bishop Fedeli.

3 As summarized in Wilhelm de Vries, *Rom und die Patriarchate des Ostens* (Freiburg im Breisgau/Munich: 1963), 383.

4 On the decisions of the Roman congregations see de Vries, *Rom* (see footnote 3), 377–378.—As early as 1608, the superior general of the Discalced Carmelites, Father Ferdinandus a Sancta Maria, reminded his missionaries to Persia that *communicatio in sacris* with "schismatics" was not permitted. See P. Petrus Ferdinandus a Sancta Maria, Praepositus Generalis O.C.D. in Rome, to the missionaries O.C.D. in Persia, Rome, 18.10.1608 (Archivum Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum, Rome [hereafter AOCD] 236/a/5).—On *communicatio* of Catholics with non-united Oriental Christian also see Cesare Santus, *Trasgressioni necessarie*. Communicatio in sacris, *collaborazioni e conflitti tra le communità cristiane orientali* (*Levante e Impero ottomano, XVII-XVIII secolo*), unpublished Tesi di perfezionamento in Discipline storiche (Pisa: 2015); idem, "La *communicatio in sacris* con gli 'scismatici' orientali in età moderna," in: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* 126–2 (2014), published on 1.12.2015, URL: http://mefrim.revues.org/1790; DOI: 10.4000/mefrim.1790 (accessed: 18.8.2016). The original German version of this chapter was written before the publication of Santus's work, which draws in part on the same sources.

Those who justified *communicatio in sacris* usually cited the bull *Ad vitanda scandala* of pope Martin V. At the time of issuance, in 1418, the bull had limited the effects of general excommunications by making the shunning conditional on the publication of a "nominal, declaratory special sentence."[5] From this wording, which at this moment did not address the issue of *communicatio* with non-united Oriental Christians, supporters of *communicatio in sacris* inferred that this practice was permissible under certain circumstances, that is, so long as the priest had neither nominally nor explicitly been condemned as a "schismatic" or a "heretic," the practice did not imply an explicit commitment to the "schism" or "heresy" and there was no danger of "upheaval" (*subversio*) and "scandal" (*scandalum*).

The problem of *communicatio in sacris* cropped up wherever Catholics lived alongside non-Catholic Christians. One famous example were members of the Catholic minorities of England or the United Provinces who attended services of the Anglican and Reformed Churches. However, in the eyes of the Roman Catholic Church, the main cause for concern was the vast area stretching from East Central Europe to South India where Oriental Christians in union with Rome lived alongside non-united Eastern Christians. In fact, the significance of the debates on *communicatio in sacris* that regularly erupted in this area makes them comparable to similar adaptations to local constraints further east, namely the Chinese and Malabar rites.

The efforts of the post-Tridentine Church toward the union of Eastern Christianity meant that Catholic missionaries initially went out of their way to reach out to Oriental clerics. The rationale behind this was to cultivate social and sacramental ties in the hope that they would eventually pave the way to a formal union with Rome. Facilitating this was the fact that, in the early years of the mission, the religious culture of the Oriental churches was often much less confessionally fixed than the various Christian denominations that dominated the religious landscape of post-Reformation Western Europe. So long as the goal of the mission remained the union of Eastern Christianity, *communicatio in sacris* was an integral part of a missionary strategy predicated on "good correspondence"[6] in day-to-day interaction and a gradual convergence of religious beliefs. Interestingly, though, the practice persisted even after efforts at union had failed and the Roman Catholic Church sought to establish parallel Eastern Catholic congregations. Both in Persia and the Ottoman Empire the

5 Christian Jaser, *Ecclesia maledicens: Rituelle und zeremonielle Exkommunikationsformen im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: 2013), 371.

6 The term was widely used in early modern Europe to describe the exchange of signs of mutual respect which governed social interactions between persons of higher social standing.

ecclesial community provided the frame within which the Christian minorities cultivated relations with Muslim rulers. Thus proponents of *communicatio in sacris* argued that any split within these communities could jeopardize their relations with Muslim authorities. Apostolic Armenians in particular accused fellow Armenians who had entered union with Rome of reneging on their obligations toward the Muslim rulers, which they argued could entail more or less serious consequences for all Christians in the region.

For various reasons, then, *communicatio in sacris* remained a part of religious life in Catholic relations with Oriental Christians throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. Bernard Heyberger has studied similar developments in a case study focusing on local religious practices in the Syrian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. According to Heyberger, the influence of the post-Tridentine Church resulted in a heightened awareness of religious diversity, as well as the standardization and internalization of religious belonging in a process that bore many similarities with the confessionalization of European Christians that historians have studied in great detail over the last decades.[7]

Communicatio in sacris was part of a religiosity that put the personal beliefs of the individual above outward religious practices of the church. Unless it took place in the context of a partial or general union of an Oriental church, the "conversion" to Catholicism of Oriental Christians from the Ottoman Empire or Persia consisted mainly of the confession and absolution with missionaries, followed by a more or less concealed practice of communion in the churches of the mission. Clerics justifying *communicatio in sacris* under the circumstances of the Ottoman Empire and Persia believed that Catholics were allowed to attend "schismatic" masses, so long as they recognized its "errors" and interiorly distanced themselves from them. Even though this position was clearly at odds with the Roman Catholic Church's claim to be the sole vehicle of salvation, it repeatedly crops up in missionaries' letters to the superiors of their orders and the Roman curia.[8]

7 Bernard Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la Réforme catholique* (Rome: 1994). Also see Santus, *Trasgressioni necessarie* (see footnote 4); idem, "La *communicatio in sacris*" (see footnote 4).

8 In 1669, for instance, the Jesuit Claude-Ignace Mercier wrote in a letter to the *assistant de France* of his order in Rome that, in order to protect the good relations with the Armenian clergy of New Julfa, he had refused to bury the late wife of an Armenian who had "turned his back on heresy." He went on to describe how he had cited the example of other Armenians who, despite having converted to Catholicism, had left neither their priest nor their church "except in their heresies" (*sinon en leurs hérésies*) (Claude-Ignace Mercier, S.J., to Claude Boucher, Assistant de France S.J. in Rome, Isfahan, 16.1.1669 (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome [hereafter ARSI], Gallia, 97 II, doc. 125, f. 345v–347r).

Like the much better known Chinese and Malabar rites controversies, the efforts at union with Eastern Christianity spawned internal conflicts that revealed the magnitude of the challenges that the global missions had placed before the Roman Catholic Church. If these missions were seen as Catholicism's triumph over the Protestant churches, which only began to dispatch missionaries overseas in the 18th century, the diverse and new forms of local piety that emerged as a result of them conflicted with simultaneous efforts to impose a more rigid adherence to Tridentine doctrines on the faithful. The missionaries willy-nilly had to accommodate the religious culture of the people whose conversion and union with Rome they were supposed to engineer. Seen from the perspective of the missions, the century following the Council of Trent was, ironically, a period of growing pluralism, a pluralism that was fostered in no small measure by the same institutions, such as the Society of Jesus, which were seen as the drivers behind the contemporaneous process of confessionalization in Europe.[9] In the medium and long run the confrontation with unfamiliar cultural norms and practices was an important contributing factor to the processes of self-relativization around 1700 that Paul Hazard aptly described as the "crisis of the European mind" in the 1930s.[10]

In the first half of the 18th century, the Roman curia rose to the challenge by publishing a number of decisions that defined the limits of orthodoxy and orthopraxy ever more narrowly. The controversies about *communicatio in sacris* are, therefore, part of a broader conflict on local practices of piety in various settings of the post-Tridentine missions. The structural setup of the relations between local Church actors and the Roman curia, the rationales governing their actions and the chronology of events all reveal remarkable parallels to the controversies over the Chinese and Malabar rites.[11] Like the latter, *communicatio in sacris* sparked particularly intense debates during the pontificates of Clement XI (1700–1721) and Benedict XIV (1740–1758). [12]

9 See Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East. The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA/London: 2007), 4–12.

10 Paul Hazard, *La crise de la conscience européenne* (*1680–1715*) (Paris: 1935).

11 For a short overview of the Chinese rites controversy, see Nicolas Standaert, "The Rites Controversy," in: *Handbook of Christianity in China*, (ed.) idem, vol. 1: 635–1800, (Leiden/Boston/Cologne: 2001), 680–688; also see Daniel E. Mungello (ed.), *The Chinese Rites Controversy. Its History and Its Meaning* (Nettetal: 1994).—For a summary of the controversy surrounding the Malabar rites, see Édouard René Hambye, *History of Christianity in India,* vol. 3: *The Eighteenth Century* (Bangalore: 1997), 211–237.

12 See Santus, *Trasgressioni necessarie* (see footnote 4), 27–28, 479–511.

In this chapter, I endeavor to describe these transformations in the 17th and first half of the 18th centuries from the perspective of Catholic missionaries to Persia. I focus specifically on the local Armenian Christian community. First I briefly place the Persia mission in the broader context of the post-Tridentine missions. Then I present examples of local practices of piety in which the missionaries participated and which all fell under the heading of *communicatio in sacris*. At the risk of grossly generalizing, I distinguish between two phases in Armenian-Catholic relations: an earlier one, during which the mission was propelled by hopes of a union of the Armenian churches with Rome, and a later one marred by an increasingly sharp demarcation of religious differences and the growing persecution of united Armenians. The third part of the chapter focuses on decision-making processes in the Roman curia. By way of conclusion, I link some peculiarities of the decisional practices to the structural conditions created by the curia's limited powers to enforce its decisions without the cooperation of subordinate actors. This finding is compared with research on patronage relations between center and periphery in secular polities;[13] particular attention is paid to peculiarities arising from the Church's claim to be the sole holder of truth. Using its dealings with cases of *communicatio in sacris* as a case study, I probe how the Holy Office dealt with the fact that although post-Tridentine doctrine obliged it to condemn deviant behavior, the nature of its ties to the clergy and the laity on the ground made it impossible to enforce the new orthodoxy.

8.2 The Persia Mission in the Context of the Post-Tridentine Missions

Unlike the Catholic missions to Central and South America, China, Japan, and India, the activities of Catholic missionaries in Persia have received scant attention from scholars.[14] One reason for this is that the high expectations of

13 Wolfgang Reinhard and his students have painstakingly reconstructed the patronage networks under Pope Paul V. See Wolfgang Reinhard, *Paul V. Borghese (1605–1621). Mikropolitische Papstgeschichte* (Stuttgart: 2009); also see Hillard von Thiessen, *Grenzüberschreitende Patronage und Diplomatie vom* type ancien. *Die spanisch-römischen Beziehungen im Pontifikat Pauls V. (1605–1621) in akteurszentrierter Perspektive* (Epfendorf: 2010); Guido Metzler, *Französische Mikropolitik in Rom unter Papst Paul V. Borghese (1605–1621)* (Heidelberg: 2008).

14 In addition to a small number of articles and essays, the literature is limited to fairly conventional accounts of the Catholic Church and the missions in Persia (refer to footnotes 17, 21, 22, 23, and 24). For an event-centered account of the mission, see Josef Metzler,

the early years, fed in part by a lack of familiarity with local conditions, soon turned into disappointment. The eagerly anticipated conversion of large numbers of Persian Muslims failed to materialize, and plans to encircle the Ottomans thanks to an alliance with the Safavids soon turned out to be impractical. To make matters worse, only an exceedingly small number of Armenians, who due to a prohibition to proselytize Muslims had become the main target of the Persia mission, agreed to a formal union with Rome.[15] As a result clergymen with a strong vocation for missionary life soon began to aspire to be dispatched to other places than Persia, where the conversion of nonbelievers often took a backseat to diplomatic missions and the strict observance of the rules of the religious orders they belonged to was frequently hindered by the social constraints of diplomacy.[16]

There are nevertheless good reasons for an in-depth study of the Persia mission and the missionaries' ties to the Roman curia. Unlike the 16th-century missions to the Americas and Asia, which were sponsored predominantly by Spain and Portugal, the dispatch of Discalced Carmelites to the Safavid Empire

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"Nicht erfüllte Hoffnungen in Persien," in: *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum, 1622–1972*, (ed.) idem, vol. I/1: 1622–1700 (Freiburg im Breisgau: 1971), 680–704; Ambrosius Eszer, "Missionen im Halbrund der Länder zwischen Schwarzem Meer, Kaspisee und Persischem Golf: Krim, Kaukasien, Georgien und Persien," in: ibid., vol. II, 421–462. On the mission under Abbas I, see Rudi Matthee, "Christians in Safavid Iran: hospitality and harassment," in: *Studies on Persianate Societies* 3 (2005), 3–43; idem, "The politics of protection. Iberian missionaries in Safavid Iran under Shāh ᶜAbbās I (1587–1629)," in: *Contacts and Controversies between Muslims, Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Empire and Pre-Modern Iran*, (eds.) Camilla Adang/Sabine Schmidtke (Würzburg: 2010), 245–271. On the missionaries' ties to Muslim scholars, see Francis Richard, "Catholicisme et Islam chiite au 'Grand Siècle'. Autour de quelques documents concernant les Missions catholiques en Perse au XVII[e] siècle," in: *Euntes docete. Commentaria Urbaniana* 33 (1980), 339–403. On the diasporic religiosity of Latin Christians of European origin in the Safavid Empire, see Christian Windler, "Katholische Mission und Diasporareligiosität. Christen europäischer Herkunft im Safavidenreich," in: *Religion und Mobilität. Zum Verhältnis von raumbezogener Mobilität und religiöser Identitätsbildung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, (eds.) Henning P. Jürgens/Thomas Weller (Göttingen: 2010), 183–212.—For a more comprehensive bibliography I refer readers to my forthcoming monograph.

15 For more details on this, see the following study on the Armenian diocese of New Julfa: Vazken S. Ghougassian, *The Emergence of the Armenian Diocese of New Julfa in the Seventeenth Century* (Atlanta: 1998).

16 Christian Windler, "Regelobservanz und Mission. Katholische Ordensgeistliche im Safavidenreich (17. und frühes 18. Jahrhundert)," in: *Normenkonkurrenz in historischer Perspektive*, (eds.) Arne Karsten/Hillard von Thiessen (Berlin: 2015), 39–63.

during the pontificates of Clement VIII (1592–1605) and Paul V (1605–1621) was among the first missions coordinated by the Roman curia itself. In fact, in the early years after its founding in 1622, the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith owed a significant amount of its workload to the Persia mission of the Discalced Carmelites.[17] Further adding to the significance of the Persia mission is its target, the Armenians of New Julfa, whose central role in trade networks between Asia and Europe has been highlighted by recent research.[18] The Armenians of New Julfa, who did business in such far-flung places as Venice and Livorno and engaged in trade with South and East Asia, used contacts with missionaries to diversify their commercial networks in the face of various threats.

When in 1604 pope Clement VIII recruited the missionaries to be dispatched to Persia from the ranks of the recently established Italian congregation of the Discalced Carmelites, this came as a surprise both inside and outside the order. After all, the reform of the order inspired by Teresa of Ávila and John of the Cross in the latter half of the 16th century had placed a strong emphasis on inner contemplation.[19] In the intervening years, the reconciliation of missionary activities and the strict rules of the order had repeatedly raised questions to which the order's leadership, depending on the current composition of the *definitorium generale,* had given widely divergent answers. Clement VIII's choice of the Italian congregation of the Discalced Carmelites has to be understood against the backdrop of the Roman curia's fraught relations with other religious orders. After several failed attempts to enforce papal supremacy over Portuguese and Spanish patronage rights and the privileges of the religious orders with the help of the forerunner of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith,[20] Clement VIII reached out to the new Italian

17 The extremely rich history commissioned by the Discalced Carmelites themselves still remains the most useful account of the order's mission to Persia: [Herbert Chick], *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, 2 vols. (London: 1939).

18 See, among others, Sebouh David Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley/New York/London: 2011).

19 See Silvano Giordano, *Domenico di Gesù Maria Ruzola (1559–1630). Un carmelitano scalzo tra politica e riforma nella chiesa posttridentina* (Rome: 1991), 103–107.

20 See Josef Metzler, "Wegbereiter und Vorläufer der Kongregation. Vorschläge und erste Gründungsversuche einer römischen Missionszentrale," in: *Sacrae Congregationis* (see footnote 14), 38–78.

congregation of the Discalced Carmelites who were far more dependent on his favor than more established orders.

The choice of order and its dispatch to a geographical area that had been virtually untouched by earlier missions was a way of circumventing the serious practical limits of papal supremacy. Yet even in Persia papal supremacy was challenged not only by the Portuguese *padroado* in the form of an Augustinian mission from Goa,[21] but the king of France's stout defense of his purported right to protect Catholic missions operating under Muslim rulers which he inferred from his role as protector of the Catholic minority in the Ottoman Empire. The missions of the Augustinians and the Discalced Carmelites in Isfahan, which had been established in 1602 and 1607, respectively, were joined by Capuchins in 1628,[22] Jesuits in 1647 and 1653[23] and the secular priests of the *Missions étrangères de Paris* who all operated under the protection of the king of France. In the 1680s one last mission was set up in the Armenian suburb of New Julfa, this one by Dominicans of the Roman reform congregation of Santa Sabina who, like the Discalced Carmelites, had close ties to the Roman curia.[24]

The competition between religious orders and the rivalries between Catholic powers thus created a situation where toward the end of the 17th century

21 On the Augustinian mission, see John M. Flannery, *The Mission of the Portuguese Augustinians to Persia and Beyond (1602–1747)* (Leiden/Boston: 2013). For an overview of the Augustinians' ties to the Portuguese *padroado* I refer to the many articles and source editions which Carlos Alonso and Roberto Gulbenkian have published over the years, which I cannot list in their entirety. See, however, Carlos Alonso, *Antonio de Gouvea, O.S.A.: diplomático y visitador apostólico en Persia († 1628)* (Valladolid: 2000); Roberto Gulbenkian, *L'ambassade en Perse de Luis Pereira de Lacerda et des Pères Portugais de l'Ordre de Saint-Augustin, Belchior dos Anjos et Guilherme de Santo Agostinho* (Lisbon: 1972) (edition and French translation of important documents); idem, "Relações religiosas entre os Arménios e os Agostinhos portugueses na Pérsia no século XVII," in: *Estudos Históricos*, (ed.) idem, vol. 1: *Relações entre Portugal, Arménia e Médio Oriente* (Lisbon: 1995), 211–253.

22 See Francis Richard (ed.), *Raphaël du Mans, missionnaire en Perse au XVIIe siècle,* vol. 1: *Biographie. Correspondance,* vol. 2: *Estats et Mémoire* [*Moyen Orient et Océan Indien XVIe–XIXe* s. 9,1 and 2] (Paris: 1995).

23 Bruno Zimmel, "Vorgeschichte und Gründung der Jesuitenmission in Isfahan (1642–1657)," in: *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 53 (1969), 1–26.

24 On the Dominicans in Persia, see Ambrosius Eszer, "Sebastianus Knab O.P., Erzbischof von Naxijevan (1682–1690). Neue Forschungen zu seinem Leben," in: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 43 (1973), 215–286; idem, "Barnaba Fedeli di Milano O.P. (1663–1731). Das Schicksal eines Missionars und Bischofs im Sturm der Zeiten," in: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 44 (1974), 179–262.

missionaries from five different orders plus the French *Missions étrangères* operated in the crowded space between Isfahan and the Armenian suburb of New Julfa. The small European diaspora and the missions in Isfahan and New Julfa formed a microcosm in which conflicts between European powers and within the Roman Catholic Church were played out in multifarious ways.

If we use the number of converts to Roman Catholicism as the sole criterion to determine the Persia mission's success, it was a failure. Although the missionaries had been instructed to convert both Muslims and Armenians, it was only among the latter that they ended up making some proselytes. Nevertheless, much like in the Ottoman Empire, the success of the Roman Catholic Church's attempts to unite the Oriental Churches in Persia was, at least if measured on the basis of quantitative criteria alone, very limited. While the mission to Persia led to the establishment of a small number of Armenian congregations who entered into union with Rome, members of the Armenian higher clergy sometimes signaled willingness to unite with Rome but generally reneged on the promise once the circumstances had changed.

While this contribution's focus on relations with Eastern Christians reveals close parallels with the Ottoman Empire in some aspects, in others, Catholic missions to Persia are more reminiscent of those to South Asian courts. The Augustinians, who had arrived from Goa in 1602, insisted that the missions to Persia (including the Caucasus) took place under the *padroado* of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, something the Discalced Carmelites dispatched by pope Clement VIII as well as the Capuchins, Jesuits and Dominicans did not accept. However, on their arrival in 1602 and 1607 respectively, the Augustinians and the Discalced Carmelites, like the Jesuits in Mughal India, both first reached out to the local Muslim court, linking the political agenda of the courts of Madrid, Goa and Rome with hopes of conversion, beginning with the ruler himself. While these hopes were short-lived, political considerations brought Abbas I and his successors to give the missionaries access to their court and to allow them to establish missions in Isfahan and a few other places. Until the 18th century, the missionaries retained access to the court, where some of them served in influential positions as intermediaries in relations with Christian envoys and visitors. In comparison with the Ottoman Empire, these positions at court were a specific feature of the missions to Persia, which would deserve closer analysis. They constituted the framework within which the missionaries could address the Armenians and some less important Eastern Christian communities who, like their brethren in the Ottoman Empire, lived under the ruler's protection as *dhimmi*.

8.3 The Local Practices of Piety

Before they began to draw a sharper line between confessional groups, the Catholic missionaries in Persia made attempts to reach out to the Armenian clergy with a view to bring about the union of the Armenian Church. This process gave rise to a number of practices that challenged the unambiguous affiliation with a clearly defined denomination, or confession, which the Roman Catholic Church was then promoting in Europe. A few examples must suffice here to give an idea of the nature of these practices.

In the long history of schisms between the Roman Catholic Church and Oriental Christianity, the separation of the Armenian Church from Byzantium and Rome occurred relatively early, that is, in the wake of the Christological controversies of late Antiquity. In the latter half of the sixth century, the Armenian Church had followed the Church of Alexandria in rejecting the central tenet of the Council of Chalcedon from 451, according to which the divine and human nature of Christ were two distinct entities.[25] As a result their opponents in Byzantium and Rome referred to the Armenians, as well as the Copts, as "monophysites"; they were, in other words, accused of recognizing only one, that is, the divine nature of Christ. It should, however, be noted that the Armenian Church stressed not so much one nature over the other as the union of the divine and the human Christ; they are, therefore, best described as "miaphysites." Closely related to the Christological controversies were differences on the relationship between Byzantium and the churches on the margin of the Empire. The Council of Chalcedon had reaffirmed the primacy of Constantinople over the other Oriental patriarchs. In the eyes of the Armenians, however, the patriarch of Constantinople and the pope and bishop of Rome were merely the patriarchs of their respective churches. For the Armenian Church, the papacy occupied a honorable first rank among the patriarchs by reason of the martyrdom of the apostles Peter and Paul and pope Sylvester I's ordination of the first Armenian catholicos, Gregory the Illuminator.

Since dogmatic differentiation and institutional separation between the Armenian Church on one side and Byzantium and Rome on the other dated back to late Antiquity, both the Catholic missionaries and the Armenians they encountered when they arrived in Persia in the early years of the 17th century

25 On the Armenian Church's rejection of the Council of Chalcedon, see Nina Garsoïan, *L'Église arménienne et le grand schisme d'Orient* (Louvain: 1999), esp. 401–409.—On the history and doctrine of the Armenian Church, see Bertold Spuler, *Die morgenländischen Kirchen* [special issue from: *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, part I, vol. VIII., paragraph II] (Leiden/Cologne: 1964), 122–155.

could draw on a long tradition of theological knowledge which portrayed the other group as heterodox Christians. Several failed attempts at union, the last of which had been made at the Council of Florence in 1439, had spawned dogmatic clarifications which had in turn sharpened the lines of demarcation between Catholics and Armenians. Excommunications on grounds of the reception of the Council of Chalcedon were still enforced on both sides. Furthermore, Dioscoros, the patriarch of Alexandria who had been deposed as a heretic at the Council of Chalcedon, was venerated as a saint in the Armenian Church. The Armenian liturgy still contained a condemnation of pope Leo I who had excommunicated Dioscoros. It was practices such as these, rather than subtle doctrinal differences, that would give rise to conflicts between Armenians and Roman Catholics in the context of the post-Tridentine mission.

As it turned out, the first encounters between Catholic missionaries and Armenians were anything but conflictual. Like the Portuguese who had met the Saint Thomas Christians in South India a century earlier, the missionaries to the Safavid Empire were relieved to encounter fellow Christians in a non-Christian environment. The Armenian clergy gave the missionaries a warm welcome. In a report written in 1604, on the eve of Abbas I's deportation of the population from Julfa, the Augustinian Belchior dos Anjos recounted how he and his companion, Father Guilherme de Santo Agostinho, were welcomed at the city gates by numerous Armenian priests. Bearing crosses and censers and singing hymns, the Armenians had come to meet them on the banks of the River Araks and ushered them to the church dedicated to John the Baptist. Once they arrived there, the Armenians welcomed the missionaries after a few prayers. The Augustinians' suggestion that they attend the Armenian mass before the Armenians would listen to theirs was well received, with the Armenians averring that they had never seen "Frankish friars" (*frades Francos*) before. Three days later they gathered for a mass at St. George's Church in Julfa. After the mass the priests huddled with the Augustinians and quizzed the missionaries on their faith. While the Armenians purportedly recognized the pope as the head of Christianity,[26] the missionary reported, they clang on to their rites which they traced back to Gregory the Illuminator. As far as articles of faith, sacraments and doctrine were concerned, the Augustinians claimed to be unable to detect any errors in the answers that an interpreter had translated for them. In the report of the Augustinian missionary, confessional differences were thus reduced to the form of rituals in which he believed to recognize

26 Possibly the Armenians were referring to the papacy's honorary rank among the patriarchs as explained earlier in this chapter.

those of the Greek Church.[27] In no way did Father Belchior dos Anjos acknowledge the Christological controversies. In doing so, he skirted the question of whether attendance at an Armenian mass was permissible or an unacceptable form of *communicatio in sacris*.

Shortly after the Augustinians' visit to Julfa on the banks of the Araks, the population, along with catholicos David IV, was forced by shah Abbas I to leave the city which was located on the border with the Ottoman Empire. In comparison to other groups in the Caucasus region, who were deported at great cost of life, the merchant families of Julfa were treated relatively benignly by the ruling dynasty who hoped to profit from their extensive trade networks. The Armenians were settled in a new suburb of Isfahan where they enjoyed wide ranging privileges as dependents of the ruling dynasty. Whether the Augustinians really helped build a new church for the catholicos is hard to tell. What is certain, though, is that they offered him one of two chalices in their possession, a gift of high symbolic value which seemed to imply the recognition of the Armenian sacrament of mass.[28] Their efforts seemed to pay off in 1607 when the catholicos reportedly made a commitment to union with Rome.

These initial successes notwithstanding, it soon dawned on the Portuguese friars that differences in doctrine, rituals, and church organization were a major obstacle to the ultimate goal of the Persia mission—union with Rome. Nevertheless relations between the missionaries and at least a part of the Armenian clergy continued to be characterized by practices of "good correspondence," which clearly extended to the sphere of the sacraments. This was particularly true of the Discalced Carmelites.

In addition to the missionaries' correspondence, the accounts of European travelers bear ample testimony to widespread confessional transgressions in the early years of the Persia mission. One particularly remarkable source is the diary and letters of the Italian traveler Pietro della Valle, who had close ties to the Discalced Carmelites in Persia. Della Valle had married into a Nestorian

27 P. Belchior dos Anjos, O.S.A., *Relação das cousas da cristandade que vimos na Persia e na Armenia*, n. d. [but 1605]. Edited and translated into French in: Gulbenkian, *L'ambassade en Perse* (see footnote 21), 83–85, 145–146.

28 Antonio Gouvea, *Relaçam em que se tratão as guerras e grandes victorias que alcançou o grande Rey da Persia Xá Abbas do Grão Turco Mahometo e seu filho Amette as quaes resultarão das embaixadas que por mandado da Catholica Real Magestade del Rey D. Filippe II de Portugal fizerão alguns religiosos da Ordem dos Eremitas de Santo Agostinho à Persia*, (Lisbon: 1611), f. 139. Quoted in: Gulbenkian, "Relações religiosas" (see footnote 21), 220–221.

family from Bagdad, whom he had nudged to embrace union with Rome. In 1619 the third-born sister of della Valle's wife was married to an Armenian notable from New Julfa. For the ceremony the Discalced Carmelites apparently consented to a ritual which violated the canonical form of marriage (specifically, the prior announcement of the intention to marry). What is more, the missionaries willfully neglected to verify the confessional affiliation of the spouses. The ceremony began on a Saturday morning with a mass in the church of the Discalced Carmelites, during which the bride made her confession and took communion. Thereafter she was escorted to Julfa where the marriage was concluded by Armenian priests in the main church of the Armenians. Even if one were to give credence to della Valle's claim that the priests who celebrated the mass were good Catholics, the choice of the Armenian church bears testimony to religious practices that made, as yet, no clear distinction between the places of worship of Catholics and "schismatics."[29]

Missionaries' letters to their orders' superiors and the Roman curia further confirm that *communicatio in sacris* was considered permissible so long as it served the higher end of the union of the Armenian Church. For example, when in 1618 the Discalced Carmelite Dimas a Cruce requested a license to celebrate mass in Armenian, he seized the opportunity to suggest that these masses be celebrated in Armenian churches. Experiences of shared spirituality (*la communicatione nelle cose spirituali*), he argued, would help win over the Armenians.[30] In the 1620s, there is ample evidence of the "great friendship" (*grande amicizia*) between the Discalced Carmelites and vardapet Moses, who from 1629 until his death in 1632 held the post of catholicos of the Armenian Church at Ejmiatsin. According to the reports of the prior of the Discalced Carmelites, the friendship dated back to 1623 when one of the friars had met the vardapet at an exorcism in an Armenian church. The friendship with Moses was not limited to friendly everyday exchanges, such as mutual visits. Not only were the vardapet and his entourage hosted in the convent of the Discalced Carmelites in Isfahan after enjoying a dinner with the Calvinist commander of the Dutch East India Company; the following morning they attended the divine office of the Discalced Carmelites. To return the favor, the friars were invited

29 Pietro della Valle to Mario Schipano, Isfahan, 22.4. and 8.5.1619, in: Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il Pellegrino descritti da lui medesimo in Lettere familiari all'erudito suo Amico Mario Schipano. Parte seconda: La Persia*, 2 vols. (Rome: 1658), here: vol. 1, 466–472; idem, [Diario di viaggio], 1614–1626 (here: 14.–16.2.1619) (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [hereafter: BAV], Ottob. Lat. 3382, f. 1r–260r, here: 122v–123r).

30 P. Dimas a Cruce, O.C.D., to P. Benignus a Sancto Michael, Procurator generalis O.C.D. in Rome, Isfahan, 31.12.1618 (AOCD, 237/b/2).

to New Julfa where vardapet Moses welcomed the prior of the Carmelites as a representative of the pope to a mass in his church. Vardapet Moses, who had allegedly committed to the union with Rome, wished to celebrate mass in the church of the Carmelites and offered the missionaries to do the same in his church. If this plan never came to fruition, this was only because the Discalced Carmelites demanded a formal confession of faith from the vardapet which he refused to give, arguing that his opponents would use this as a pretext to brand him as a "heretic" which would strip him of the authority he enjoyed among the people. Despite these differences, the prior of the Discalced Carmelites subsequently attended the ordination of a vardapet during which he and Moses both laid their hands on the head of the clergyman.[31]

What is remarkable about these and other episodes is that the clear differences between Catholics and "schismatics" or "heretics," which already existed on paper and could easily have been mobilized, took the backseat to a mutual recognition as fellow Christians. What is more, this sense of commonality extended to such sensitive sacramental acts as the ordination of clergymen. In their initial reports to the superiors of their orders and the Roman curia missionaries had every reason to be forthcoming about practices of *communicatio in sacris* because they were seen as important pit stops on the way to the union of the Armenian Church. Things only began to change in the 1630s when the frustration of earlier hopes and conflicts about the union of the Armenians in Lviv, which had been brewing since the late 1620s, began to put a serious strain on the relations between the missionaries and the Armenian clergy.[32]

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31 *Compendio delle cose più notabili successe nella nostra missione di Persia dall'anno 1621 fino a questo presente 1624, narrate al Nostro P. Fra Paulo di Gesù Maria, Preposito Generale delli Carmelitani Scalzi, dal P. Fra Prospero dello Spiritu Santo, Priore di Haspahan, venuto a Roma di commune consenso delli altri padri ad ottener maggiori aiuti per la salute di quell'anime*, edited in: *Próspero del Espíritu Santo (1583–1653). Relaciones y cartas*, (ed.) Víctor Zubizarreta (Rome: 2006), 68–107, here: 92–102; *Breve relatione delle cose che sono state fatte en la Persia in questi 4 anni prossimi passati*, edited in: ibid., 108–144, here: 122–130; Próspero del Espíritu Santo, O.C.D., *Breve suma de la historia de los sucesos de la misión de Persia de los Carmelitas Descalzos desde el año de 1621 hasta el de 1624* (Madrid: 1626), edited in: ibid., 145–175, here: 165–171; *Compendio delle cose più notabili successe nella nostra missione di Persia dal anno 1621 fino a questo presente 1625 narrata al N.P. Fra Paulo di Gesù Maria, Preposito Generale delli Carmelitani Scalzi, dal P. Fra Prospero dello Spiritu Santo, Priore di Haspahan, venuto a Roma di commun consenso delli altri padri ad ottener maggiori aiuti per la salute di quell'anime*, edited in: ibid., 176–196, here: 190–194.

32 Gregorio Petrowicz, *L'unione degli Armeni di Polonia con la Santa Sede (1626–1686)* (Rome: 1950).

If we fast forward to the late 17th and early 18th centuries, practices of *communicatio in sacris* still abound, but they are now justified in new ways: the objective is no longer to win the trust of the Armenian clergy with a view to bringing about union with Rome, but to prevent the persecution of Catholic Armenians at the hands of "schismatic" clerics. In the Armenian suburb of Isfahan, New Julfa, a congregation of Armenian Catholics had formed around one of the leading merchant families, the Sherimans, who owned a private church and, beginning in the 1680s, cultivated controversial relations with the Armenian bishop of New Julfa.

On the Catholic side individual missionaries had begun to draw clear lines of demarcation as early as the 1640s. In an effort to raise their profile with general superiors and the Roman curia, some had begun to openly defend the Roman Catholic Church's claim to be the sole holder of truth in public squares in the city. As time wore on, this approach met with increasing favor in Rome. One telltale sign of the shifts underway was the appointment of the Discalced Carmelite Elias a Sancto Alberto as bishop of Isfahan, which was made public in Persia in 1694. Father Elias had moved to the Armenian suburb of New Julfa in 1679, where he was hosted by the Sherimans. In 1691 the family funded the erection of a convent of Elias's order in the center of the Armenian quarter and later offered to pay for his maintenance as bishop. By acting as generous patrons the Sheriman brothers hoped to facilitate their plan to escape the growing insecurity in the Safavid Empire and relocate their business to Venice.[33] Once settled in Italy, the Sherimans did in fact succeed in securing the protection of ecclesiastical institutions; one representative of the following generation, Basilio Sheriman, attended the college of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith and later became governor of several towns of the State of the Church.[34]

The Discalced Carmelite Elias a Sancto Alberto not only ran a school for the sons of the Armenian notables of New Julfa, he also participated in public processions in the city. In 1689 he staged the conversion of an Armenian vardapet

33 On Armenian merchants in Venice, see Edmund Herzig, "Venice and the Julfa Armenian merchants," in: *Gli Armeni e Venezia. Dagli Sceriman a Mechitar: il momento culminante di una consuetudine millenaria*, (eds.) Boghos Levon Zekiyan/Aldo Ferrari (Venice: 2004), 141–164; Evelyn Korsch, "The Sherimans and cross-cultural trade in gems: the Armenian diaspora in Venice and its trading networks in the first half of the 18th century," in: *Commercial Networks and European Cities, 1400–1800*, (eds.) Andrea Caracausi/Christof Jeggle (London: 2014), 223–239.

34 Donald Maxwell White, *Zaccaria Seriman (1709–1784) and the Viaggi di Enrico Wanton. A Contribution to the Study of Enlightenment in Italy* (Manchester: 1961), 18–19.

as the triumph of Catholicism over the schisms and heresy in the church of his convent. He also suggested that the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith grant the convert the rights and privileges of missionaries and bishops, a request he had already put in three years earlier when another vardapet had converted but died shortly thereafter.[35] In doing so, Father Elias was the first to envision the creation of a parallel Catholic hierarchy among Armenians, a partial union with Rome of converted Armenians instead of the general union of all Armenians. It comes as no surprise that the Carmelite firmly rejected the widespread practice of *communicatio in sacris*.[36]

Opinions on how to deal with such practices in the face of growing religious persecution varied widely not only among the missionaries on the ground but also in the Roman curia. When in 1694 bishop Elias a Sancto Alberto was driven out of New Julfa at the instigation of the Armenian clergy, the Jesuits and Capuchins based in Isfahan and New Julfa, Louis-Marie Pidou de Saint-Olon, bishop of Babylon, and a priest of the *Missions étrangères de Paris* all distanced themselves from the Discalced Carmelite.[37] The Jesuits who ran a school in close proximity to the Armenian suburb escaped the persecution unscathed. As a letter penned by three Armenian vardapets and delivered to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith by the spiritual leader (*agha*) of the Armenians in Italy made clear, the Armenian clergy made a clear distinction between Bishop Elias a Sancto Alberto and other missionaries. In their letter the clerics complained that the Carmelite had vilified Armenians as "heretics," "schismatics," and "ignorant." He had also questioned the validity of the sacraments of the Armenian Church. On more than one occasion he had snatched the bodies of deceased Armenians from their priests in order to bury them himself. He had forbidden Armenians to follow the fasting guidelines of their Church and had granted matrimonial dispensations from the third degree

35 P. Elias a Sancto Alberto, O.C.D., to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Isfahan, 20.5.1689 (AOCD, 237/h/6).

36 While staying in Rome in 1702, bishop Elias wrote an altogether disapproving memorandum on a "concordia" between Catholic and "schismatic" Armenians in the Ottoman Empire brokered by the French ambassador and the general superior of the Capuchins in Constantinople, explicitly faulting the deal for not drawing a sharp enough line of demarcation between the two denominations. See the memorandum of P. Elias a S. Alberto, O.C.D., bishop of Isfahan, and P. Stephanus Sciran, O.P., "electus Archiepiscopus Naxivanensis," to the Holy Office (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St.St., QQ 3 i, unpaginated folios).

37 Relatione della persecutione de' missionarii, et delli cattolici di Giulfa in Persia e seguita dell'essilio de' RR.PP. Carmelitani scalzi scritta dal loro superiore P. F. Elia di S. Alberto, n. d. [but 1694] (AOCD, 280/a/f. 506).

of consanguinity, which was in contravention of the rules of the Armenian Church. According to the vardapets, Father Elias's conduct was a radical departure from the hitherto peaceful relations between Catholic missionaries and the Armenian clergy who had always revered and visited each other in friendship and "with brotherly charity" (*con charità fraterna*). Other missionaries, the vardapets insisted, still showed the Armenians great affection, continued to live with them in peace, and gave no reason for complaint. Elias a Sancto Alberto, by contrast, had come to New Julfa with a following of like-minded priests to cause turmoil and scandal and undermine peace and tranquility in the Armenian community. Instead of supporting the Armenian clergy and exhorting the faithful to obedience, Father Elias had sown hatred. In justifying his actions he had regularly invoked the pope.[38] The vardapets thus contrasted the bishop's confessionalized understanding of Christianity with an older model that melded practices of "good correspondence," such as visits, with the mutual recognition of sacraments.

If this approach had been defended by almost all missionaries as late as the central decades of the 17th century, by the late 17th and early 18th centuries, it had come under pressure both from Catholics on the ground and the Roman curia. And yet, even in this later period there is still ample evidence of pleas for sympathy for persecuted Armenian Catholics (such as the one by the Dominican Fedeli quoted in the introduction to this chapter, along with many others) and lengthy reports which downplayed the differences between the Armenian and Roman Catholic Churches. One particularly telling document is a memorandum written by the Jesuit Jacques Villotte, whom the Sheriman family wished to succeed the Discalced Carmelite Elias a Sancto Alberto as priest in their church in New Julfa. Villotte personally presented this memorandum to pope Clement XI in an audience during his stay in Rome in 1712. In it he discussed the legitimacy of *communicatio in sacris*, which he acknowledged some denied, while others deemed it acceptable under certain circumstances. Villotte argued that, depending on the stance that the Roman Catholic Church took on this issue, the Church could either contribute to the preservation or the ruin of Catholicism not only in Armenia but the entire Middle East. Villotte pleaded with the pope to be indulgent in matters subject to canon (as opposed to divine) law. Citing his experience of many years, he claimed that the *communicatio* of Catholic with "schismatic" Armenians did not result in upheaval or scandal. He reminded the pope that, outside the

38 Copia della lettera de' vescovi di Giulfa in Persia, New Julfa, 13.10.1698 (Archivio storico "de Propaganda Fide," Rome [hereafter: APF], SC. Armeni, vol. 4, 555r/v, 558r–559r).

areas covered by missions, Catholic Armenians did not have access to priests who could perform baptisms, marriages, and funerals. He also insisted that if missionaries performed these functions, this could result in the persecution of Catholic Armenians at the hands of the Armenian clergy. In light of this, he urged the pope to choose the lesser of two evils and, given the circumstances on the ground, turn a blind eye to *communicatio in sacris*.[39] It is important to note that in arguing his case Villotte not only cited the need to reduce the risk of religious persecution but made the bold claim that the Armenian clergy administered most sacraments correctly. In his opinion there was nothing in the way children were baptized that violated the tenets of the "rightful faith." Confirmation and the sacrament of penance were also administered with "the correct form and intention" (*debita forma et intentione*). Finally, the Eucharist was, minor deviations notwithstanding, performed with *debita materia et forma*.[40] Other Jesuits expressed similar views. According to a 1727 memorandum from Tadeusz Juda Krusinski, the Armenian mass did not contain "heretical" errors; it was in fact completely Catholic (*tota Catholica*), which explained why Ottoman Catholics residing in areas not covered by Catholic missions regularly attended Armenian services.[41] Jesuits like Villotte and Krusinski thus continued to plead for the toleration of *communicatio in sacris* at a time when voices clamoring for more stringent regulations of deviant local practices, including the Chinese and Malabar rites, were beginning to gain the upper hand in the Roman curia.

8.4 "Nihil Esse Respondendum:" Decision-Making Processes in the Roman Curia

The conflicts among missionaries and the controversies with the Armenian clergy were embedded in a system of ties to the Roman curia, whose representatives became less and less willing to accommodate local ideas and practices.

39 Circa missiones Armeniae quaeritur an possint Armeni Catholici, in Sacris communicare cum Armenis Haereticis, memorandum by P. Jacques Villotte S.J., presented to pope Clement XI during an audience on 26.9.1712 (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St.St., UV 54, XXIX, unpaginated folios).

40 Relatione della persecutione de' missionarii, et delli cattolici di Giulfa in Persia e seguita dell'essilio de' RR.PP. Carmelitani scalzi scritta dal loro superiore P. F. Elia di S. Alberto, n. d. [but 1694] (AOCD, 280/a/f. 506).

41 [P. Tadeusz Juda Krusinski, S.J.], Informatio de missionibus persicis, n. d. [but 1727] (ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico, 720 II, Nr. 9).

As a result of these changes, missionaries began to style the observance of narrowly defined confessional tenets as a sign of orthodoxy and reliability and increasingly weaponized it against local rivals. The appointment of the Discalced Carmelite Elias a Sancto Alberto as bishop of Isfahan in 1693 can be traced to his reputation as a standard-bearer of Catholic orthodoxy which he had acquired in his controversial proselytizing among the Armenians of New Julfa.

Communicatio in sacris had been condemned as early as the 1620s and 1630s in a string of decisions handed down by the Holy Office and the newly founded Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. However, it was only in 1729 that the Congregation finally issued an instruction to missionaries in the Ottoman Empire and Persia which prohibited all forms of *communicatio* with "schismatics" and "heretics." The Congregation made sure to give the ban additional clout by deriving it not only from canon but from natural and divine law, which could not be overruled by the pope. The instruction concluded by admonishing missionaries to abstain from further discussing any issues relating to *communicatio in sacris*.[42]

The instruction overturned an earlier decision of the Holy Office which, according to a *ristretto* prepared by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, had had the deleterious effect that each missionary formed his own opinion on the issue and in consequence caused "severe scandal and consternation" (*grave scandalo e costernazione*) among the laity.[43] The Congregation

42 Istruzione per l'Oriente sopra la Communicazione in divinis de' Cattolici co' Scismatici, ed Eretici, fatta dal P. Commissario del S. Offizio [Luigi Maria Lucini O.P.], e P. [Francesco Zavarroni O.F.M.] Generale de' Minimi, secondo l'ordine datoli dalla Sacra Congregazione, modified and passed in the congregation of 5.7.1729, signed Vincenzo Cardinal Petra, Prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (APF, Greci Melchiti. Congregazioni particolari dell'anno 1729. Parte Prima, vol. 75, f. 165r–171r. Edited in: Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio cuius Ioannes Dominicus Mansi et post ipsius mortem Florentinus et Venetus editores ab anno 1758 ad annum 1798 priores triginta unum tomos ediderunt nunc autem continuata et Deo favente absoluta curantibus Ioanne Baptista Martin … et R.P. Ludovico Petit …, vol. 46: *Synodi Melchitarum, 1716–1902* (Paris: 1911), c. 99–103. Summarized in de Vries, *Rom* (see footnote 3), 384–386.

43 Ristretto per la Congregazione Particolare di Soria, e Palestina overo de' Greci Melchiti, written by Carlo Uslenghi, *minutante* of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, discussed in the *Congregazioni particolari* of 15.3., 31.3., 5.4., 26.4., 3.5., 12.5. and 5.7.1729 (APF, Greci Melchiti. Congregazioni particolari dell'anno 1729. Parte Prima, vol. 75, f. 13r–96v, here: f. 35v–36r. Edited in: *Sacrorum Conciliorum* (see footnote 42), c. 1–88, here: c. 22–23). Quoted in de Vries, *Rom* (see footnote 3), 384–385.

justified its decision to rule on an issue that fell under the jurisdiction of the Holy Office by claiming to be the better defender of the true doctrine of the Church. In fact, in 1719 a majority of cardinals of the Holy Office and the pope himself had not given heed to the consultors' arguments for a general ban on *communicatio in sacris*. Instead, they had suggested that missionaries "consult doctors [of theology] and honest and learned clerics with experience as missionaries" and "refrain from any acts that imply a declaration of faith to a false sect and anything that could cause scandal and upheaval."[44] This ambiguous wording, which was reminiscent of Martin V's bull *Ad vitanda scandala,* had turned the final decision in each case over to the missionaries on the ground who had promptly interpreted it in this way.

In the following years the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith repeatedly pressed for an unequivocal ban on *communicatio in sacris*, whereas the Holy Office remained more sensitive to local constraints. As a result, the authors of the instruction to the missionaries, which the Holy Office passed in 1723 on the basis of information collected from the survey among missionaries mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, overrode the opposing votes of almost all consultors and adopted the wording of the instruction from 1719. In other words, both the cardinals and the pope were more willing than their legal advisers to grant missionaries the possibility to assess individual cases in light of the opinions of theologians and their own experience.[45]

Even after 1729 the cardinals of the Holy Office remained more reluctant than the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to condemn local practices which they knew would continue to thrive despite rulings against them. When in 1757 the Holy Office was presented with a draft decree from the Congregation which would have turned *communicatio in sacris* and mixed marriages with "heretics" and "schismatics" into reserved cases under the jurisdiction of bishops and would have suspended any priest present at the conclusion of a mixed marriage *eo ipso* from his functions, the three consultors who were called upon to give their legal opinion unanimously rejected the proposal. Once more they cited the bull of Martin V and the potentially harmful effects

44 Feria V, 12.1.1719: "Mens est quod consulant doctores, et probos ac doctos ecclesiasticos diu versatos in illis missionibus, abstinendo prorsus ab actibus protestativis falsae sectae et ab occasione scandali, et subversionis." (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St.St., M 3 a, XIV, f. 202v); see de Vries, *Rom* (see footnote 3), 383.

45 Feria V, 3.6.1723. Also see Feria IV, 30.6.1723 and Holy Office to Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, 9.7.1723 (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St.St., M 3 a, XIV, f. 412v, see 411r, 413v); see de Vries, *Rom* (see footnote 3), 384.

of such a ruling on Catholics in the Ottoman Empire.[46] In a telling passage, one of the consultors—the future pope Clement XIV—evoked the negative consequences that the decision taken in the Chinese rites controversy had entailed: "We all know how the thorny issue of the Chinese rites ended, and that's enough."[47]

At a time when the line of demarcation between confessions was being drawn ever more sharply, the Holy Office thus remained reluctant to condemn local practices that flew in the face of contemporaneous efforts to impose adherence to Tridentine doctrine. In 1757 the legal opinions of the consultors were possibly influenced by the fact that one of them was a Maronite Catholic from the Ottoman Empire. Giuseppe Simone Assemani had graduated from the *Collegio dei Maroniti* in Rome and subsequently built a curial career as an expert on Oriental Christianity.[48] Assemani firmly opposed the drafts of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. According to him, the legitimacy of *communicatio in sacris* could not be determined without individually assessing each case, the people involved and the specific circumstances on the ground.[49] To bolster his case, Assemani cited two speeches which Benedict

46 Ristretto de' tre voti fatti da Monsignore [Giuseppe] Assemani, M. [Giuseppe Maria] Castelli e Padre [Lorenzo] Manganelli fatta dall'Abbate [Filippo Lorenzo] Dionisi, qualificatore del S.O., n. d.; Osservazione generale sopra la communicazione in divinis de' cattolici con gli eretici, e scismatici, signed Giuseppe [Simone] Assemani, Consultore del Sant'Uffizio, n. d.; decision of P. Lorenzo Manganelli, Consultor, n. d.; Riflessioni sopra il nuovo progetto d'impedire con riserve, e censure la comunicazione in Divinis de' Cattolici co' Scismatici, signed Joseph Maria Castelli, Sancti Officii Consultor, n.d. (ACFD, Sanctum Officium, St.St., M 3 b, XV, f. 781r [new pagination: 780r]–790r [new pagination: 789r], f. 791r [new pagination: 790r]–795v [new pagination: 794v], f. 801r [new pagination: 800r]–806v [new pagination: 805v], f. 809r [new pagination: 808r]–837v [new pagination: 837v]).

47 Decision of P. Lorenzo Ganganelli, Consultor, n. d.: "Sappiamo a quale termine siasi ridotto lo spinoso affare de' Riti Cinesi, e tanto basta." (ACFD, Sanctum Officium, St.St., M 3 b, XV, f. 801r [new pagination: 800r]–806v [new pagination: 805v], here: 806v [new pagination: 805v]).

48 On Assemani see Bernard Heyberger, "Chrétiens orientaux dans l'Europe catholique (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)," in: *Hommes de l'entre-deux. Parcours individuels et portraits de groupes sur la frontière de la Méditerranée, XVIe-XXe siècle*, (eds.) idem/Chantal Verdeil (Paris: 2009), 61–93, here: 63–64, 85–87.

49 Osservazione generale sopra la communicazione in divinis de' cattolici con gli eretici, e scismatici, signed Giuseppe [Simone] Assemani, Consultore del Sant'Uffizio, n. d.: "Che sia lecita, o illecita la communicazione in divinis de' cattolici con gli eretici, e scismatici, assolutamente parlando, non si può definire, se non dipendentemente dalla materia, dalle persone e dalle circostanze de' luoghi, e tempi." (ACFD, Sanctum Officium, St.St., M 3 b, XV, f. 791r [new pagination: 790r]–795v [new pagination: 794v], here: 791r [new pagination: 790r]).

XIV had delivered to the Holy Office and in which the pope had opposed a general ban that failed to take account of the specific circumstances on the ground. He then went on to argue that the responses to the survey of the Congregation from 1721 had shown that united Armenians were forced to fall back on Oriental clergymen for baptisms, marriages, and funerals, but that these acts did not necessarily constitute "errors." Assemani was the only one of the three consultors who added an *osservazione particolare* to his *osservazione generale*, in which he corrected the draft decree and which helps to further illuminate his position. Rather than speak of "rites intrinsically tainted by error" (*riti intrinsicamente macchiati d'errori*), Assemani suggested to treat them as "rites for the most part tainted by error" (*riti per lo più macchiati d'errori*). Citing expert opinion from the Commission for the Correction of the Books of the Eastern Churches, a subcommittee of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Assemani argued that the Greek rite was, as far as the administration of the sacraments, free of error. The same, he opined, could be argued of the sacraments of the Armenians, the Syrians, and the Copts. Mixed marriages were a violation not of divine but merely of canon law, which meant that the pope could dispense them.[50] Seeing as there were cases in which *communicatio in sacris* was permissible as per the bull *Ad vitanda scandala* or for other reasons, any decree ought to take this into consideration.[51] Instead of turning *communicatio in sacris* into a reserved case and suspending priests present at the conclusion of mixed marriages *ipso facto* from the administration of sacraments, Assemani preferred to instruct bishops and confessors to condemn sinners to the "most severe salutary penance" (*gravissime penitenze salutari*).[52]

And yet, Assemani's influence alone does not explain the comparatively greater reluctance of the Holy Office. One also has to take into consideration the particular status of the verdicts handed down by the Congregation for the Propagation for the Faith, which set important precedents in the definition of Church doctrine. Although the Holy Office chose not to pursue the issue after the negative opinion of its consultors in 1757, in other cases it ruled explicitly that a petition did not deserve a reply. *Nihil esse respondendum*

50 Osservazione particolare sopra l'istruzione circa la communicazione in divinis de' cattolici con gli eretici, e scismatici, e circa il matrimonio che si contrae da cattolici co' medesimi, signed Giuseppe [Simone] Assemani, Consultore del Sant'Uffizio, n. d. (ACFD, Sanctum Officium, St.St., M 3 b, XV, f. 796r [new pagination: 795r]–797v [new pagination: 796v], here: 796r [new pagination: 795r]).

51 Ibid., 796v [new pagination: 795v].

52 Ibid., 797v [new pagination: 796v].

became a frequent standard answer whenever the Holy Office was confronted with *dubia* that threatened to lay bare a chasm between the principles of the post-Tridentine Church, which the Holy Office was not ready to disavow, and local practices.[53] Supplicants who petitioned the Congregation with their *dubia* rightly saw this formula, which was never communicated to them directly, as well as the inconclusive evaluation of submitted dossiers, as non-answers. Both practices suggest that the Roman curia was fully aware of its limited capacity to enforce the one true faith. Congregations used these two tactics interchangeably. For example, when the Capuchins in Persia and Georgia inquired in 1699 whether mortally ill Armenian Catholics were allowed to have confession with a "schismatic" priest, their *dubium* was never evaluated properly.[54] However, when in 1704 the same question was submitted by a Capuchin from Constantinople, the pope, on consultation with the cardinals of the Holy Office, ruled that the petition should go unanswered (*nihil esse respondendum*).[55] A similar request from a Discalced Carmelite from the Levant—this time on behalf of missionaries and laypeople who were not at the point of death but just had not had access to a Catholic confessor in a long time—was submitted to the Holy Office a few years later, in 1718. The Council of Trent had allowed for the possibility that "non-approved priests" (*sacerdotes non approbati*) gave absolution "at the point of death" (*ad articulum mortis*). Technically, this would have obliged the Congregation to rule against the Carmelite. Nevertheless, the expert advice of the consultors and the cardinals, as well as the pope's final decision, are indicative of a deliberate effort being made to avoid taking a clear stance against a seemingly unavoidable violation of Church doctrine. Upon

53 This or a similar formula was used by other congregations of the Roman curia. For examples from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, see Bernard Heyberger, "'Pro nunc nihil est respondendum'. Recherche d'information et prise de décision à la Propagande: l'exemple du Levant (XVIII[e] siècle)," in: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* (*Italie et Méditerranée*) 109 (2) (1997), 539–554. Heyberger attributes the Congregation's non-answers primarily to insecurity resulting from the inability to assess the accuracy of the information available. By contrast, the documentation of the Holy Office suggests that this practice resulted primarily from the fear of jeopardizing the authority of the Church by handing down unenforceable rulings. Ironically, the Congregation decided not to answer precisely because it believed to be (and probably was) in possession of accurate information on the situation on the ground.

54 Dubbi proposti da PP. Cappuccini Missionarii in Persia e Giorgia (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St.St., 00 5 h, unpaginated folios).

55 Resolutio of P. Giovanni Damasceno Bragaldi, Consultor of the Holy Office, n. d. (but 1704); Feria V, 7.8.1704 (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St.St., UV 19, f. 230r, 244v).

consultation with the cardinals of the Holy Office, the pope in fact decided that "*nihil esse respondendum*."[56]

8.5 The Truth Claim of the Roman Catholic Church and the Limits of Enforceability

The widespread practice of deferring decisions suggests that the relations between the Roman curia and subordinate actors both inside and outside the Papal States[57] bore many similarities to those in territories ruled by secular princes. Setting them apart was less the form of the interactions than their content. If, for example, taxation could be negotiated in more or less asymmetrical relations between the prince and the estates, the Roman Catholic Church's claim to be the sole holder of truth was not negotiable. In practice, however, its enforceability was equally limited, forcing the Church to develop specific strategies to address this problem.

For instance, the relations between Clement VIII and the Discalced Carmelites of the Italian congregation, whom the pope dispatched to Persia, can be compared to patron-client ties between a secular prince and a secular corporate body. The reorganization of the administration of Catholic missions after the establishment of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1622[58] had many parallels with the methods which secular rulers used to strengthen their influence in peripheral regions, that is, by welding together patron-client ties and institutions subject to bureaucratic rationalities. The new congregation was endowed with powers on all matters relating to the missions. Immediately after its founding, the Congregation demanded that papal nuncios and the superiors of religious orders produce detailed reports on the state of the missions. Like in secular kingdoms, such as the Spanish monarchy under Philip II,[59] the quest for information had both a practical

56 Feria II, 4.7.1718; Feria V, 14.7.1718 (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, Dubia circa Poenitentiam, 1625–1770, XVIII, f. 97r, 99r, 104v).

57 For studies using network methods, I refer to the work of Wolfgang Reinhard and his students in footnote 13.

58 On the functioning of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, see the work of Giovanni Pizzorusso, including *Roma nei Carabi. L'organizzazione delle missioni cattoliche nelle Antille e in Guyana (1635–1675)* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 207) (Rome: 1995); idem, "I dubbi sui sacramenti dalle missioni ad infedeles. Percorsi nelle burocrazie di Curia," in: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome (Italie et Méditerranée)* vol. 121 (1) (2009), 39–61.

and a symbolic dimension. In 1622 the Roman curia lacked exact knowledge of the line of action adopted by missionaries on the ground, which greatly affected its ability to take adequate decisions. By gathering intelligence on the missions to all four corners of the world, the Congregation also affirmed the pope's supremacy over princely rights of patronage and the privileges of religious orders. Finally, its ability to collect information on the missions legitimized the Congregation's pretension to be the only body able to take decisions on local issues which gave due consideration to the ruling's wider ramifications.[60]

In the early years following its establishment, the information was collected and analyzed by the Congregation's secretary, Francesco Ingoli. In his memoranda Ingoli, a secular priest, regularly singled out two factors as the main obstacles to the missions' progress: their dependence on Portuguese and Castilian patronage, which turned missionaries into pawns of secular political interests, and the predominance of regular clerics among the missionaries, which resulted in rivalries between religious orders. As a solution Ingoli proposed the creation of a new institutional framework whose actors were more directly dependent on the Roman curia. In order to achieve this, he intended to strengthen the cooperation between the Congregation and local bishops who were more likely to be recruited from the ranks of the secular clergy and were in a position to exert jurisdiction over the missionaries, as well as act as brokers on behalf of the Congregation and the papacy.[61]

In his role as secretary of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Ingoli repeatedly painted an extremely bleak picture of the missionaries recruited from the ranks of the regular clergy. He particularly questioned the effectiveness of the visitations which the general superiors regularly carried

59 See, for example, Arndt Brendecke, *Imperium und Empirie. Funktionen des Wissens in der spanischen Kolonialherrschaft* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: 2009).

60 On the functions and practices of knowledge management in the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, see Giovanni Pizzorusso, "La Congrégation *de Propaganda fide* à Rome: centre d'accumulation et de production de 'savoirs missionnaires' (XVIIe-début XIXe siècle)," in: *Missions d'évangélisation et circulation des savoirs, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle*, (eds.) Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile/Marie-Lucie Copete/Aliocha Maldavsky/Ines G. Županov (Madrid: 2011), 25–40.—On the Society of Jesus, see Markus Friedrich, *Der lange Arm Roms? Globale Verwaltung und Kommunikation im Jesuitenorden 1540–1773* (Frankfurt am Main/New York: 2011).

61 See Josef Metzler, "Orientation, programme et premières décisions (1622–1649)," in: *Sacrae Congregationis* (see footnote 14), 146–196, here: 160–161.

out.[62] In one memorandum Ingoli even claimed that the main objective of the majority of friars who had been dispatched to East India was to return to Europe with new riches.[63] These complaints about the missionaries' abuses and the general superiors' ineffective controls lent the efforts of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to increase its influence over the missions new legitimacy.

Given the broad definition of its powers from 1622, the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in the 17th and 18th centuries hardly qualifies as a success story. The Congregation met all sorts of obstacles in the Roman curia itself, and more importantly, in its relations to secular powers, religious orders, and missionaries on the ground. To make matters worse, in 1638 the Congregation had to cede jurisdiction over *dubia* pertaining to questions of doctrine to the Holy Office,[64] which spawned repeated jurisdictional conflicts between the Congregation and the Holy Office for decades to come, as is shown by the 1729 ruling on *communicatio in sacris* and the Chinese rites controversy.

The likelihood of influencing day-to-day practice in the areas covered by Catholic missions increased if the missionaries on the ground were willing to keep up a regular correspondence with the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Like in secular monarchies, the success of attempts to "centralize" the Roman Catholic Church in the early modern period ultimately depended on whether subordinate actors were willing to engage with the new institutions.[65] Unless actors on the ground reached out to the congregations of the Roman curia, it was unlikely that the latter were able to intervene effectively. This was particularly true of missions in distant territories. In response to these challenges, the Society of Jesus devised a knowledge management system which allowed the order to delegate decisions to subordinate actors in cases where the established communication channels broke down.[66] In practice, long distances and scarce administrative resources conspired to leave

62 Francesco Ingoli, *Relazione delle Quattro Parti del Mondo (1629–1631)*, (ed.) Fabio Tosi (Rome: 1999), 166.

63 Ibid., 166–167.

64 Josef Metzler, "Orientation" (see footnote 61), 185–196.

65 See in particular the research on the early modern concept and practice of "good governance" (*gute Policey*) in secular corporate entitites, such as André Holenstein, *"Gute Policey" und lokale Gesellschaft im Staat des Ancien Régime. Das Fallbeispiel der Markgrafschaft Baden(-Durlach)*, 2 vols (Epfendorf: 2003); Wim Blockmans/André Holenstein/Jon Mathieu (eds.), *Empowering Interactions. Political Cultures and the Emergence of the State in Europe 1300–1900* (Farnham/Burlington: 2009).

66 See Markus Friedrich, *Der lange Arm Roms?* (see footnote 60), esp. 61–67, 281–288.

missionaries of all orders with considerable decisional powers even on key issues of orthodoxy and orthopraxy, which persisted as long as local rivals did not appeal to the Roman curia. The issue of the Chinese rites, for example, had been brewing for quite a while within the Society of Jesus itself before the curia became aware of it. At first the Jesuits in China successfully solved the most fundamental issues of doctrine and practice internally. This arrangement only crumbled when rivals of the Jesuits, the Mendicants and French apostolic vicars, used competing networks in Rome to inform the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith and the Holy Office about local practices and lobby for their condemnation.[67]

Yet, even in these favorable circumstances, the implementation of curial decisions in the missions still met considerable obstacles. Outside areas colonized by secular European powers, coercive measures could not be applied effectively. This was the case in the Ottoman Empire and Persia where Catholic Eastern Christians who relapsed into "heresy" and missionaries could not be sanctioned unless they accepted the authority of the Church as defined by the Roman curia, repented and faced the penance that had been imposed on them. This, however, was exactly the crux of the matter: the pervasiveness of *communicatio in sacris*, which despite repeated rulings of the Holy Office and the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith continued to flourish well into the 18th century, attested to the persistence of forms of a Christian religiosity which flew in the face of confessionalism and threatened to challenge the post-Tridentine Church in its core.

The persistence of these forms of religiosity is hardly surprising. They had, after all, paved the way for the friendly reception of Latin missionaries by the Armenian laity and clergy despite the separation between the Armenian and the Roman Catholic Churches which dated back to late Antiquity. Armenian clerics viewed the Augustinians and Discalced Carmelites who arrived in Persia in the early 17th century as fellow Christians with whom they could engage in common worship. Over the course of the 17th century the interaction with the Latin clergy fostered a heightened awareness of their own confessional

67 The Jesuit missionaries to China were not the only ones who avoided reaching out to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith lest they lend further legitimacy to the Congregation's jurisdictional pretensions over the missions. For an overview of the relations between the Society of Jesus and the Congregation in the 17th century, see Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Il papa rosso e il papa nero: note sulle origini della conflittualità tra Propaganda fide e Compagnia di Gesù (XVII secolo)," in: *Les antijésuites. Discours, figures et lieux de l'antijésuitisme à l'époque moderne*, (eds.) Pierre-Antoine Fabre/Catherine Maire (Rennes: 2010), 539–562.

standpoint among Armenians. This was mirrored by the increasing tendency among some missionaries to build a reputation as defenders of post-Tridentine orthodoxy. Among other things, the ensuing polarization manifested itself in attempts to block missionaries from settling in the Armenian suburb of New Julfa. *Communicatio in sacris* thus became a survival strategy of a small minority of Armenians who self-identified as Catholics in interactions with missionaries. Both in terms of chronology and general dynamics the growing polarization along confessional lines in Persia bore a strong resemblance to the processes which Bernard Heyberger described in his study on the Syrian provinces of the Ottoman Empire.[68] Other parallels can be drawn to the chronology that scholars of Catholic confessionalization in Western Europe have outlined in recent years.[69] Lastly attempts by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to issue a narrowly defined ban on *communicatio in sacris* in the first half of the 18th century came hot on the heels of the condemnation of the Chinese and Malabar rites.

When in 1698 three Armenian vardapets complained about the conduct of the Latin bishop of Isfahan, Discalced Carmelite Elias a Sancto Alberto, they zeroed in on the prelate in question and small number of like-minded men in his retinue and explicitly omitted other missionaries from their complaint. The toleration of *communicatio in sacris* had been the precondition for the settlement and the largely undisturbed proselytizing of the Jesuits and Dominicans in the Armenian suburb. Although in his role as bishop of Isfahan the Dominican Barnaba Fedeli di Milano was embroiled in an endless series of jurisdictional conflicts with the Jesuits, his case for the legitimacy of *communicatio* dovetailed at least in part with the views expressed by Jesuit fathers like Jacques Villotte and Tadeusz Juda Krusinski. The latter went one step further insofar as they not only cited the need to avoid persecution but were much more explicit in their relativization of the "heretical" nature of Armenian religious practices. Coming from a particularly polyglot missionary like Jacques Villotte such pleas for the admissibility of *communicatio in sacris* could also be construed as an indication of the latter's integration into local society.

In the eyes of the post-Tridentine Church, *communicatio in sacris* was not permissible. Yet it remained widespread wherever Roman Catholics lived alongside Eastern Christians until well into the 18th century. If even a Latin bishop like Barnaba Fedeli, who was a member of a congregation of the

68 Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient* (see footnote 7).

69 See, for example, Andreas Holzem, *Religion und Lebensform. Katholische Konfessionalisierung im Sendgericht des Fürstbistums Münster, 1570–1800* (Paderborn: 2000), esp. 455–470.

Dominican orders with relatively close ties to the Roman curia, was willing to disregard Tridentine doctrine and justify *communicatio in sacris*, it is hardly surprising that the Holy Office preferred not to jeopardize the Church's authority by handing down decisions that would not be enforced. The formula *nihil esse respondendum* and the refusal to take a clear stand on matters where Tridentine doctrine left no discretion were specific responses to the realization that the Congregation's decisions would never be implemented on the ground.

PART 4

Asia

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CHAPTER 9

South Asia

Ines G. Županov

9.1 Introduction

Anchored at Goa, the capital of their *Estado da Índia*, the Portuguese extended their dominion in a string of strongholds up and down the west coast of India and on the Island of Sri Lanka. Following the footsteps of soldiers were missionaries, especially those of the Society of Jesus, recruited not only from Portugal but from other European nations.

The confrontation between the goals of a global Catholicism and Portuguese colonialism flared up in the different visions of evangelization espoused by Portuguese and Italian Jesuits. Should the Indians be made into Portuguese subjects, speaking Portuguese, embracing Catholicism, and effacing the identity of their birth? Or should missionaries learn Tamil, Hindi, Sanskrit or any of the many Indian languages and adapt Christian rituals and doctrines to Indian ways of religion? The confrontation between the Italian Jesuit Roberto Nobili, a strong advocate of the latter course, and his detractors will be analyzed. This chapter will also provide a survey of the Catholic missions as they stretch north to Agra and the courts of the Mughal emperors, south to the Tamil-speakers, as well as eastward into the lands around Pondicherry in the late 17th and early 18th century, when French Catholic missionaries cultivated a new field of conversion in the wake of French commercial and political interests. Finally, this chapter will offer a précis of the beginnings of Indology as a discipline of knowledge in early modern Europe, based on missionary accounts.

9.2 Missionary Landscapes

The first Christian mission in India is often traced to the year 52 AD in which, it is believed, St. Thomas the Apostle brought the Gospel to Asia. Christian pious books and apologetic mission histories, in particular, tend to weave this nostalgic and providential strand into the early modern planetary Catholic missionary expansion under the Portuguese *padroado* and the Spanish *patronato*. The quest for and the "discovery" of the uninterrupted historical presence in India of the Christian communities, called locally *Nasrani* or *māppila*

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nasrānikkal[1] enraptured Portuguese and Catholic imagination in the early 16th century, as it did, two centuries later, that of the Protestant historians of Christianity, such as Mathurin Veyssière de la Croze.[2] The *St. Thomas Christians* as they came to be known after the arrival of the Portuguese provided both the proof and justification of the Christian universal appeal and the confirmation, much exploited by the *padroado* missionaries, that the "Glad Tidings" had been already providentially announced in the first apostolic period.

This conveniently assembled tale of continuity and precociously global spread of the Christian message was important to the early modern empire builders that were Iberian monarchies. The spiritual conquest was an essential part and an ideological glue of the Portuguese empire as it started gaining ground overseas.[3] Moreover, missionaries were considered an integral part of the imperial sentinels and encouraged to expand the frontiers of the *Estado da Índia*, in order to prepare the ground—that is, to convert and cultivate the souls of the former gentiles—so that the compliance to Catholic habitus may smoothen the transition to Portuguese political rule. This was mostly a wishful thinking in Asia where the Portuguese started with three spectacular conquests by Afonso de Albuquerque of Goa (1510), Melaka (1511) and Hormuz (1507), but finally settled into their colonial empire that consisted, for the most part, of imperfectly controlling the sea and the trade routes and into having to negotiate every other move, especially on land. The history of the Catholic missions was also closely tied to both the land and the sea, and the ebb and flow of European colonial formations and efforts, first Portuguese, but also Spanish, "Italian" and French. The Protestant nations (Dutch, Danish, British) and their colonial settlements, from the late 17th century onwards, were instrumental in marginalizing Catholic presence and importance in South Asia. The Protestant

1 A *māppila* means in Malayalam « a son of a maternal uncle », or « son in law » or an ideal « fiancé ». See István Perczel, "Cosmopolitisme de la Mer d'Arabie: Les chrétiens de Saint Thomas face à l'expansion portugaise en Inde," in *Cosmopolitisme en Asie du Sud; Sources, itinéraires, langues* (*XVIe-XVIIIe siècle*), (eds.) Corinne Lefèvre, Ines G. Županov and Jorge Flores, collection *Puruṣārtha* (Paris: 2015), 143–170.

2 *Mathurin Veyssière de La Croze, Histoire du Christianisme des Indes* (The Hague: 1724). See also, Will Sweetman, "The Curse of the Mummy: Egyptians, Hindus and Christians in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* and La Croze's *Histoire du christianisme des Indes*," paper presented at *The 18th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies*, Lund, Sweden, 6–9 July, 2004 (unpublished).

3 Ângela Barreto Xavier, *A Invenção de Goa. Poder Imperial e Conversões Culturais nos Séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: 2008).

missionaries, who became more prominent and visible from the 18th and 19th century onwards, inadvertently discarded Catholic missionary experience by way of borrowing and appropriating both Catholic missionary strategies and their archives.[4]

Back to the early 16th century, instead of a lonely figure of an Apostle sent by Christ, the padroado missionaries were members of religious orders. Besides Franciscans and Dominicans, both of whom also boasted of their medieval missions to Asia, and the late coming Augustinians, the most visible and thus often taken as the most important among the padroado missionaries were the Jesuits. It is still difficult to revise this image and the reputation that the Jesuits managed to create and sustain about their preeminence mostly with a help of printed reports, centralized and proliferate correspondence, and a special care given to recording their own history.[5] Founded in 1540, the Society of Jesus specialized early in evangelization of the non-Christians, among other apostolic tasks such as education and various "ministries of the word", and in many ways the Jesuits became models for all other missionaries.[6] The Carmelites, Oratorians and Theatines were also present in Portuguese India, but not always directly engaged in missionary activities.

Franciscans, on the other hand, who were the first Portuguese padroado missionaries and who had established convents in Cochin sometime between 1518 and 1522, and possessed eleven convents and eighty residences from East Africa to Singapore at the time Francis Xavier arrived to Goa in 1542, were careless with the written documents, especially those that chronicled their own institutional history.[7] In addition, they were also embroiled in struggles between different branches wherever they went. In Goa, the Observant Franciscans and the Recollects (or Capuchos), were the biggest groups in the

4 For the way in which Catholic missionary knowledge came to be appropriated by the British Orientalists and missionaries see, Ângela Barreto Xavier and Ines G. Županov, *Catholic Orientalism; Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge* (*16th-18th Centuries*), (New Delhi: 2015).

5 John Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History, 1542–1773* (Bombay: 1955).

6 On the well informed, if Europe-centered history of Jesuit beginnings, see John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits, 1544–1565,* (Cambridge, MA: 1993).

7 Caio Boschi, "As Missões na África e no Oriente," in *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, (eds.) Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, vol. 2 (Lisbon: 1998), 403–418. See also Ângela Barreto Xavier, "Itinerários franciscanos na Índia seiscentista, e algumas questões de história e de método," *Lusitania Sacra* 2nd series 18 (2006), 87–116 and Patricia Souza Faria, *A conquista das almas do oriente: Franciscanos, catolicismo et poder colonial português em Goa* (*1540–1740*), (Rio de Janeiro: 2013).

middle of the 17th century.[8] Taken together they were almost as numerous as the Jesuits in Asia, with more than six hundred members, according to António Bocarro's census in his famous report, *O livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental* (1635).

According to the same source, Dominicans who arrived in Asia in 1548 and Augustinians in 1572, had each 125 members in Goa.[9] Of course, in Goa and other Portuguese settlements in the north (*Províncias do Norte*), religious orders were also in charge of parishes, although the distinction between the parish and the mission was not always clear and at times provoked bitter contestations. The missionaries were, in principle, rarely fixed in one place and were needed for converting the "gentiles" and "infidels". They were either sent from one mission or another on special assignments or had to move due to the political vicissitudes in the region. When the Dutch grabbed Sri Lanka from the Portuguese in the middle of the 17th century, the Franciscans, who were ninety six according to Bocarro's census, were repatriated to other convents of the *Estado da Índia*. The missionaries did return to Sri Lanka at the end of the 17th century, but under very different circumstances.

These new missionaries, often referred to as the "apostles", were not Franciscans but members of the newly founded missionary order established in Portuguese India, the *Congregação do Oratório de Santa Cruz dos Milagres.*[10] Also called *Milagristas*, *Padres Bragmanes*, and *Oratorianos*, the members of this order were all recruited exclusively from among Goan Brahman Catholics and the mission strategy they applied was close to that of the Jesuit accommodation.[11]

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8 Ângela Barreto Xavier, "Bibliothèques virtuelles et réelles des franciscains de l'Inde du XVIIème siècle," in *Missions d'évangélisation et circulation de savoir*, (eds.) Charlotte de Castelnau, Marie-Lucie Copete, Aliocha Maldavski and Ines G. Županov (Madrid: 2010), 157. According to Bocarro's manuscript, there were 148 Jesuits and 233 Franciscans in Goa. António Bocarro, *O livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental*, vol. 2 (transcription) (Lisbon: 1992), 273–275.

9 Bocarro, *O livro das plantas,* 276 and 277. In all Asia, there were 302 Augustinas and 256 Dominicans.

10 These Goan Brahman Oratorians, whose most prominent member José Vaz (1651 –1711) had been canonized recently (2015) and who is often called the Apostle to Sri Lanka, were the only missionary order staffed by the members of a single Indian caste. See Sebastião do Rego, *Chronologia da Congregação do Oratório de Goa*, (ed.) Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes (Lisbon: 2009). See Xavier and Županov, *Catholic Orientalism*, 245–286.

11 Ines G. Županov, "Goan Brahmans in the Land of Promise: Missionaries, Spies and Gentiles in the 17th–18th century Sri Lanka," in *Portugal—Sri Lanka: 500 Years*, (ed.) Jorge Flores (Wiesbaden: 2006), 171–210.

It was José Vaz, from 14 January 2015 an officially canonized saint by the pope Francis, who imprinted his own and his "caste" aspirations and desires into the shaping of this first religious order of the Indian priests in Goa. Already the foundation of the Congregation of the Oratory of the Cross of Miracles was a long way for Indian converts, also known as *cristãos novamente convertidos* as opposed to *cristãos velhos* (old Christians) and *cristãos novos* (New Christians), serving as catechists and translators to the European missionaries, to becoming full-fledged Indian or Brahman Catholic missionaries themselves. Although conversion was the main goal of the European missionaries, their persistent suspicion of "native" perfidy, dissembling and spiritual weakness, had been the cause for the decision to block or delay the access to priesthood and ordination of the converted Christians. According to the Third Provincial Council of Goa (1585) the adult converts were eligible for ordination only when at least thirty years of age and fifteen years after baptism. The Fifth Provincial Council (1606) added a local "caste" flavor, clearly already under a considerable influence of the Brahman Christians: that only the "noble" castes were to be admitted to the priesthood.[12]

All through the later 17th and early 18th century, these noble "castes", Brahmans and Charodós who claimed Kshatriya or kingly status, quarreled and exchanged punches in a series of "identity narratives" claiming the highest status in Indian "caste" hierarchy. They mobilized "ancient" texts in order to prove their nobility or the lack of it of the rival group.[13] Some of the writers went as far as proclaiming that one of the Magi had been a Brahman.[14] It was, obviously, the success in arriving at the status of a missionary that served as the ultimate proof. Thus the Oratorians found themselves in a role of "spiritual colonizers" in Sri Lanka in the last decade of the 17th century. On the other hand, except for words of praise, the colonial and ecclesiastical administration in Goa and Lisbon provided minimal financial backing of the Oratorian Sri Lankan mission.[15]

12 The decrees of the five Goan Provincial Church Councils see J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *Archivo Portugez-Oriental, fasciculo 4 que contem os concilios de Goa e o synodo de Diamper*, Nova-Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1862 (New Delhi: 1992).

13 For a detailed discussion of these identity narratives see Xavier and Županov, *Catholic Orientalism*, 245–286.

14 António João Frias, *Auereola dos Indios, & Nobiliarchia Bracmana: Tratado Historico, Genealogico, Panegyrico, Politico, & Moral* (Lisbon: 1702).

15 From 1709 when the Brahman Oratorians were finally recognized by the Pope and by the Portuguese king, their number grew. In the mid-18th century they were sixty six of whom fourteen in Sri Lanka mission; in 1776 their number peaked to seventy two of whom

A subaltern position of the Indian diocesan priests is also evident in the fact that although they were indispensable in Goan parishes since they spoke Konkani, they rarely acquired ecclesiastical benefices, reserved only for the Portuguese. Nevertheless, these "parish jobs" were much coveted and, in the 17th century, Indian diocesan priests resented the presence of religious orders which still retained in their hands nearly two thirds of the parishes.[16] The religious orders were generally more sympathetic to their new converts, but very few Indians, including the *mestiços* were allowed to join any religious order before the second half of the 18th century. The only exception is the case of Luís Pedro Bramane, the only Jesuit priest of Indian origin before the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. He was well aware of this injustice and wrote a few letters to the General Acquaviva in Rome complaining about the situation.[17] But nobody listened.

After 1622, the newly established Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in Rome worked actively to undermine the Portuguese padroado, considered as ineffective, by stimulating the formation of the local clergy and even conferring higher ecclesiastical benefices on Goan priests. The 17th-century case of Mateus de Castro, a Goan Brahman, is often taken as an example, although his mandate as a bishop continued to be marred by opposition from the Goan ecclesiastical hierarchy.[18]

The relations were always difficult between the missionaries and their converts in all missions, especially in those in which the help of the local catechists-cum-informants was of crucial importance in both gathering information and upholding a particular saintly image of the missionary and the doctrine he preached. In Madurai, when the Roberto Nobili famously fought his coreligionist Fernandes Trancoso in the first decades of the 17th century regarding the nature of "Brahmanism" and Indian religion, it was on the information provided by Śivadharma or Bonifacio, the Sanskrit teacher, that they both constructed their opposing arguments.[19] Śivadharma and other Nobili's

seventeen in Sri Lanka before 1834 when all religious orders were abolished in Portugal for more than half a century. Carmo da Silva, "Goan Ortorians," in *Goa and Portugal: History and Developments*, (eds.) Charles J. Borges, Óscar G. Pereira and Hannes Stubbe (New Delhi: 2000), 280–1.

16 See, Carlos Mercês de Melo, S. J., *The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India* (Lisbon: 1955).

17 Ines G. Županov, *Missionary Tropics; The Catholic Frontier in India (16th-17th Centuries)*, Ann Arbor: 2005), 259–270.

18 On Mateus de Castro see, Xavier and Županov, *Catholic Orientalism,* 249–264.

19 See recent article by Margherita Trento, "Śivadharma or Bonifacio? Behind the Scenes of the Madurai Mission Controversy (1608–1618)," in*The Rites Controversies in the Early Modern World*, (eds.) Ines G. Županov and Pierre Antoine Fabre, Brill (forthcoming).

"noble" converts, as opposed to Fernandes Trancoso's "low" caste Parava Christians, even staged a rebellion against their 'guru' and at one point considered getting rid of the missionaries altogether. None of them were ordained, however, since becoming a priest was a much longer and hard path, including learning Latin and spending time in a Jesuit college in Cochin or Goa. All that is known about Śivadharma, whose trail in Jesuit correspondence disappeared after the controversy was temporarily over in 1620s, is that he probably ended and even died in Goa.[20]

Not all archbishops of Goa were adamantly against indigenous clergy. A famous Augustinian archbishop, Dom Aleixo de Menezes (1595–1609) appointed Indian priests to various parishes in Goa, Kanara and the Bassein region. His ordinations *en masse* of St Thomas Christians during the Synod of Udayamperur (Diamper) is another sign of his policy of "indigenization" of ecclesiastical offices stimulated by similar Jesuit success stories in Japan. There was no consistent policy, however, concerning the recruitment of indigenous clergy and the prelate who replaced Menezes, Cristóvão de Sá e Lisboa (1616–22), swore on the missal never to ordain any indigenous priest.[21]

Another page in the missionary history and in direct competition to the Portuguese padroado missions started, therefore, with the missionaries sent by the Papacy and Propaganda Fide from the middle of the 17th century and by the French kings in the late 17th and in the 18th century. These missionaries were recruited from the Discalced Carmelite and Capuchin orders, while the French kings also signed in the French Jesuits who were initially destined for Siam and China, beyond the padroado territory.[22]

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20 According to a tomb inscription in the church of Santa Luzia in Goa, a certain Maria Nobre, wife of João Gomes was buried in 1691 and was "a daughter of the late Bonifacio Xastre, doctor from the kingdom of Madurai, catechist and a learned man in his sect. He preached against it, converted to our Holy Catholic faith and converted many pagans." See, Ines G. Županov, *Disputed Mission; Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-century India* (New Delhi: 1999), 244.

21 On Cristóvão Sá e Lisboa's opposition to accommodation and to Roberto Nobili, see Županov, *Disputed Mission,* 90, 110, 132, 205.

22 French Jesuits in India have received less scholarly attention than those in China. See Dhruv Raina, "A Neglected Field: The Historiographic Frames for the Jesuit Sciences in India," in *Intercultural Encounter and the Jesuit Mission in South Asia (16th-18th Centuries)*, (eds.) Anand Amaladass and Ines G. Županov (Bangalore: 2014), 259–289. On the beginning of the French mission see Isabelle Landry-Deron, "Les Mathématiciens envoyés en Chine par Louis XIV en 1685," *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 55 (2001), 423–463.

9.3 Accommodation and Violence

A relative density of churches, Christians, priests and missionaries in the core areas of the Estado da Índia (Goa, Cochin, Daman, Diu) fades as we move away into the vast tracts of missionary territories under the political jurisdiction of the Indian rulers. The missionary strategies also changed with the distance from the Portuguese secular arm, although what is usually called the method of accommodation and attributed to the Jesuits in the dangerous and distant missions had been already discussed and envisaged among the Franciscans in the early 16th century in Goa.[23]

It was a Franciscan Recollect and the first bishop of Goa, Juan de Albuquerque who in 1549 sent a Jesuit António Gomes on a mission to Tānūr in order to instruct the king and prepare him for baptism.[24] He had been secretly converted by João Soares, the vicar in Chaliyam, an important Portuguese fort on the Malabar Coast and close to Tānūr, and the Franciscan Frey Vicente de Lagos. It seems that it was the king's idea that he wear a metal crucifix given to him on that occasion hidden from his subjects in order not to compromise his noble "Brahman" (in Portuguese words) status. However, when he arrived to Goa for the ceremony, he was paraded in the public places in full Portuguese royal gear and given the name of Dom João de Tanor. This kind of strategic disguise was much discussed and commented among the ecclesiastics in Goa at the time. In a letter to the Queen of Portugal, the Franciscan bishop Albuquerque proposed a "Nicodemite" solution in quite a literal sense. "Joseph of Arimathaea was a disciple of Our Lord, not an apostle, and this he was in secret and in concealment … [but] he was a good man; Nicodemos and Guamaliel [Gamaliel] kept it inside their hearts, that is, the belief in O[ur]. L[ord]. and concealed it outside for fear of Jews."[25] In the same way, the king of Tānūr, Dom João, "who on the outside is dressed like others and in his heart wears the Catholic faith, for the goal of converting many grandees and Nayars in his kingdom … And when the time comes … he will break the Brahman thread, and will tear his old clothes and will be dressed in Christian clothes, which are Portuguese".[26]

23 Ines G. Županov "Accommodation," *Dictionnaire des faits religieux,* (eds.) Régine Azria and Danièle Hervieu-Leger (Paris: 2010), 1–4.

24 On the unruly and fervent missionary life of António Gomes see chapter 3, Županov, *Missionary Tropics,* 113–146.

25 A Letter of Juan de Albuquerque, Bishop of Goa, to the Queen of Portugal, Goa, Oct. 20, 1549 in Josephus Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 1 (Rome: 1948), 542.

26 Wicki, *Documenta Indica* (vol. 1), 543.

What Juan de Albuquerque and the Franciscans, and other Portuguese missionaries took for granted was that ultimately being a newly converted Christian in India would have been identical to being a Portuguese. If some strategic dissimulation was necessary, especially with important political figures, conversion to Christianity had to consist of assimilation of the whole cultural package, sweeping away all traces of the local pre-Christian habitus. Precisely, at the very same time and for the same reason, in Goa, hundreds of temples were being pulled down with their idols shattered to pieces. While in the core areas under the direct rule of the Estado da Índia, such as Goa, Christianization and Portugalization were considered as an ideal outcome of conversion, in practice the acculturation was never possible. The *tombos* (registers) and *forais* (charters) collected in the areas under the complete Portuguese administration enumerate hundreds of *pagodes* (a word designating both a temple and an idol) destroyed and the churches built in their place. And yet, as anthropologist Alexander Henn, among others, recently argued, the non-Christian gods survived in various places, in and outside of the church, and their power may have been reinforced precisely because of the violence they suffered.[27]

If in Goa, which comprised in the 16th century the Ilhas (Tiswadi, Divar and Chorão), Bardez and Salcete, and where from 1555 the viceroy Pedro Mascarenhas divided the mission territory among the Franciscans, Dominicans and Jesuits, the Christianization proceeded with a lot of physical and symbolic violence, further away along the east and west coast of India and in the interior mission, physical violence was not a solution. Non-coercive missions, based on persuasion, dialogue and accommodation were, however, never entirely "peaceful". Moreover, in Goa the victims of the violence were at times the missionaries themselves. The martyrs of Cuncolim of 1583, among whom were five Jesuits, received an enormous acclaim and a prominent place in the Jesuit apologetic missionary history and post-independence nationalist literature in which this event continues to be portrayed, in rather schematic and jingoistic manner, as the first revolt against the Portuguese rule and European colonialism in general.[28]

27 Alexander Henn, *Hindu-Catholic Encounters in Goa: Religion, Colonialism, and Modernity* (Bloomington: 2014). He acknowledged that his thesis had been influenced by David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago and London: 1989)

28 On a famous case of religious violence and Catholic martyrdom in Cuncolim see Ângela Barreto Xavier, "Power, Religion and Violence in Sixteenth-Century Goa," *Portuguese Literary and Cultural Studies* 17/18 (2010), 27–50.

The narratives of martyrdom were one of the linchpins connecting Jesuit missions all over the world and committing them to a particular timeless chronology of the apostolic and Paleochristian moment they were trying to recreate.[29] The martyrs and saints dying in one place could thus travel and appear in visions and dreams in any other geographical location and inspire the "desire for martyrdom", the most important *topos* in the *Indipetae* letters in which it was often confounded with "*desiderio delle Indie*".[30]

In particular, the life and the body of Francis Xavier, who was not a martyr *stricto sensu*, but whose miraculous deeds in the afterlife qualified him for a quick sainthood, appeared as a Jesuit template of an ideal missionary: nobility of birth, virginity, good education, visionary zeal, hard work, personal austerity, travel, diligent correspondence, good death and miracles in the afterlife. His example created a domino effect in the Jesuit novitiate in Europe where young boys dreamt of doing something "greater (*magis*)" in their lives and for whom the Council of Trent opened new venues for pious careers.[31] Converting the whole world and burning down idolatry, heresy and infidelity with the cross and the pen had been the ultimate goal in the missionary vocation. Some Jesuits in Goa went further and took up arms as was reported by Luís Fróis in one of his early letters.[32] This kind of behavior was immediately censured, while other types of secular activities such as trade and slave trade were frowned upon officially but continued to be practiced.[33]

The method of accommodation was, on the other hand, based on the premise that teaching the Gospel and converting non-Christians should not be based on violence, but that it may provoke violence against the missionaries and the new converts. Alessandro Valignano who arrived to Goa in 1573,

29 On Jesuit role in the Paleochristian Revival movement in art in the late 16th century Rome see Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque; Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto: 2003), in particular chapter 4.

30 On the *Indipetae*(letters demanding to be sent on a mission or to the "Indies") see articles by Charlotte de Castelnau, Aliocha Maldavsky, Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Anna Rita Capoccia in *Missions religieuses modernes. "Notre lieu est le monde,"* (eds.) Pierre Antoine Fabre and Bernard Vincent (Paris: 2007). See also Gian Claudio Roscioni, *Il desiderio delle Indie. Storie, sogni e fughe di giovani gesuiti italiani* (Turin: 2001).

31 For one such mimetic Jesuit biography see Ines G. Županov, "Passage to India: Jesuit Spiritual Economy between Martyrdom and Profit in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Early Modern History* 16 (2012), 1–39

32 Letter from Luís Frois to members in Coimbra, Nov. 30, 1557, Wicki, *Documenta Indica,* (vol. 3), 710. See also Županov, *Missionary Tropics*, 168.

33 The only work dealing with Jesuit finances in South Asia, in spite of its limited scope, is still Charles J. Borges, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits 1542–1759* (New Delhi: 1995).

is often credited with inventing all by himself the method of accommodation. From the developments in the Indian mission, it is clear that some of the pillars of this method were enshrined in the missionary experience at a grassroots level. These experiences may have also contributed to the decision following the session XXIV of the Council of Trent on 11 Nov. 1563 which concluded, among other things, that the catechism had to be "faithfully translated into the language of the people". The Jesuit missionaries in India had been doing just that for almost three decades all over the world in their missions.[34]

9.4 Language and Translation Zones

Although Jesuit rectors and teachers in the St. Paul's College in Goa and in the Jesuit college in Cochin reported on the importance of providing classes in non-European languages spoken by their students in order to prepare them for spreading the word in their own communities or countries, it was the "linguistic" mission among the Parava pearl fishermen that inspired the Jesuit decision makers and, perhaps, directly or indirectly the decree of the Council of Trent.[35] This mission was made famous by Francis Xavier whose first project it was and remained in Jesuit hands throughout the 16th century. Not only was the mission successful in the short and in the long run, and produced one of the staunchest Catholic communities in India, it was also a testing ground for

34 The Council of Trent, Session XXIV (11 Nov. 1563), Decree concerning reform, Chapter VII: The Efficacy Of The Sacraments Shall Be Explained By Bishops And Parish Priests Before They Are Administered To The People. http://www.ewtn.com/library/COUNCILS/TRENT24.HTM (last accessed on 21 September 2017). This decree may have been geared, in the first place, to beat Protestant vernacular initiatives on their own ground, while opening the space of cultural translation in the overseas territories where missionaries encountered a whole range of new languages. The status of Latin, however, remained somewhat undecided. By becoming an exclusive language of the Bible, the question of whether or not the Mass could be celebrated in the vernacular as well was left open. See Ines G. Županov, "Translating the *doctrina christiana*: Jesuit linguistic mission before and after the Council of Trent(16th-17th century India)," in *Trent and Beyond. The Council, Other Powers, Other cultures,* (eds.) Michaela Catto and Adriano Prosperi (Turnhout: 2017), 559–581.

35 This is my thesis in the article "Translating the *doctrina christiana*" on the basis of the correspondence between a Jesuit missionary on the Fishery Coast among the Paravas and Diogo Laínez, one of the major Jesuit actors during the last sessions at Trent.

Jesuit missionary methods. In particular, one of the linguistically talented Jesuit, Henrique Henriques, who also stayed in the mission for about half a century and thus also proved that stable missions were necessary, developed a method (an *Arte*) for learning and teaching local languages easily and quickly.[36]

The mission on the Fishery Coast (or Costa da Pescaria for the Portuguese) was neither in the core territory of the Estado da Índia, nor were the missionaries completely on their own as in the missions in Madurai or at the Mughal court. Portuguese interests in controlling the trade and pearl fishing revenues in the region and the Paravas' rivalry with the community of the Maraikāyar and Labbai Muslim pearl merchants and divers created this space of semi-colonial situation, with the Portuguese Captain and his regiment stationed there and patrolling the coast.[37] Moreover, the Parava elites have invited the Portuguese and sealed the deal of "protection" by converting to Christianity. When Xavier took the mission, the Paravas were nominally Christian, converted a decade earlier, but hardly instructed in the details of the religion they newly professed.

It was this moment when the Jesuit missionaries arrived and were faced with the fact that to instruct the Paravas properly they had to do it in their own Tamil language, that the linguistic turn was inevitable. Portuguese language, and Latin as its prestigious base and subtext, was still the source language from which the translations were made into Tamil and Kōṅkaṇī and Marāṭhī, the two languages of Goa, where the Jesuits and Franciscans experienced the same linguistic necessity. However, the degree to which the translations were moving away from the source language depended on the distance from the

36 On the importance of the "sedentarization of missions" see Ines G. Županov, "Un clergé missionnaire; Sédentarisation des missions et apprentissage des langues," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Italie et Méditerranée* 1/III (1999), 295–302.

37 Chandra Richard de Silva "The Portuguese and pearl fishing off south India and Sri Lanka," South Asia (New Series) 1/1 (1978) 14–28. Chandra Richard De Silva, (ed.), *Portuguese Encounters with Sri Lanka and the Maldives: Translated Texts from the Age of Discoveries* (Farnham: 2009). According to Torsten Tschacher, the pre-colonial original meaning of Labbai refers to a religious title, not a community. It was the British colonial census and contemporary anthropological and historical scholarship that constructed the "Labbai" as an endogamous Tamil Muslim community. Torsten Tschacer, "Circulating Islam; Understating Convergence and Divergence in the Islamic Traditions of Ma'bar and Nusantara," in *Islamic Connections: Muslim Societies in South and Southeast Asia*, (eds.) R. Michael Feener and Terenjit Sevea (Singapore: 2009), 52. For older, much quoted work on Muslims in Tamil Nadu in the early modern South Asia, see Susan Bayly, *Saints Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christian in South Indian Society, 1700–1900* (Cambridge: 1989), 19–240.

Portuguese Estado da Índia and from the "social" quality of the language. Languages that were identified as "noble" or "sacred" were allowed less Portuguese alloys. Kōṅkaṇī was to Marāṭhī, according to the French Jesuit Etienne de la Croix, what "vulgar" language is to Latin.[38]

Especially in the 16th-century translations of catechetical literature, in Goa and on the Fishery Coast, were peppered with Portuguese words. Kōṅkaṇī and Marāṭhī were perhaps more under the pressure than Tamil precisely because they were not simply closer to the Estado da Índia, they were the languages of Goa and its countryside. One of the results of the proximity to the Estado and to the center of the ecclesiastical authority was the fact that the texts in both languages were printed in Roman script rather than in Devanāgarī. Alexander Henn ascribes this decision to Alessandro Valignano who after his visit to Japan considered Indians racially and intellectually "inferior" and thus unworthy of having Christian literature in their own script.[39] More probably Valignano opposed printing in Devanāgarī for economic reasons, but the fact of proximity to the center of Portuguese power may have been decisive.[40] The Jesuits

38 According to Ananya Chakravarti, Marāṭhī had emerged as an independent literary language in a process of vernacularization already outlined by Sheldon Pollock, flowering as a courtly and literary language under the medieval Yādava kings. Kōṅkaṇī, by contrast was not associated with courtly culture and did not develop an analogous literary tradition. It had only begun to show evidence of this process of vernacularization by the time of the advent of the Portuguese. The effort at "prose transcreation" of tales from the Mahābhārata into the local vernacular, from the mid-16th century, may have been initiated by the Jesuits in order to gain information about local beliefs and mythologies. Ananya Chakravarti, "Three Anthonies: Saints, Locality and Empire in the Seventeenth Century Portuguese World," article under submission. For Pollock thesis, see Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture and Power in pre-modern India* (Berkeley: 2009). Etienne de la Croix's references to Kōṅkaṇī recensions of the Hindu texts are suggestive here of Jesuit access to such materials, but the issue requires further investigation. Etienne de la Croix composed *Discurso sobre a vida do Apostolo Sam Pedro* [*Discourse on the life of the Apostle Saint Peter*]. The text, published in 1629, is available in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal in Lisbon: *Discurso sobre a vida do Apostolo Sam Pedro, em que se refutam os principais erros do gentilismo deste oriente ... composts em versos em lingua Bramana Marastta pello padre Estevão da Cruz, frances, Goa, 1634*, Microfilm F 198 and F 199.

39 Henn, *Hindu-Catholic Encounters*, 68.

40 Georg Schurhammer, "Thomas Stephens (1549–1619)," in *Orientalia* (*Gesammelte Studien Herausgegeben zum 80. Geburtstag des Verfassers II*), (eds.) Georg Schurhammer and László Szilas (Lisbon: 1963), 367–76 and Georg Schurhammer, "Der Maratha-Dichter Thomas Stephens SI: Neue Dokumente, *Orientalia*, 377–391.

in southern India, on the other hand, continued to print their works in Tamil characters all through the 16th and the 17th century.[41]

The Jesuits not only printed their translations in Tamil script, they also tried to improve it.[42] Henrique Henriques's four printed books—*Tampirāṉ vaṇakkam* (Coulam: Collegio do Saluador, 1578), *Kiricittiyāṉi vaṇakkam* (Cochin: Collegio da Madre de Deus, 1579), the *Confessionairo* (Cochin:1580) and the *Flos Sanctorum* (1586)—were the first books printed in Tamil. This fact is still often overlooked by historians who consider the Pietists' mission in Tranquebar as having introduced Tamil printing press.[43] Another Jesuit center of printing in Tamil was in the Ambalacatta (Ambazhakad) college in Kerala in the middle of the 17th century where some of the works by famous Jesuit missionary Roberto Nobili were printed.[44]

While these early 16th century catechisms presented themselves as translations from some authoritative original from Europe, such as the *Doutrina christã* by a Jesuit Jorge Marcos—first printed in Braga in 1566 and adapted to vernacular languages in all Jesuit missions worldwide—later works tended to become relatively independent from the European models.[45]

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41 On Jesuit printing in Tamil and the introduction of print in Tamil Nadu see Stuart H. Blackburn, *Print, Folklore, and Nationalism in Colonial South India* (New Delhi: 2003). See also Otto Zwartjes, *Portuguese Missionary Grammars in Asia, Africa and Brazil, 1550–1800* (Amsterdam: 2011). See also Cristina Muru, *Missionari portughesi in India nei secoli XVI e XVII; L'arte della lingua tamil. Studio comparato di alcuni manoscritti* (Viterbo: 2010).

42 It was Jesuit Costanzo Gioseffo Beschi who tried to improve on the orthography in the common (*kodum*)Tamil. Among different interventions, he introduced a special character for long e and long o, since the length of a vowel is important for comprehension of Tamil. Constantius Joseph Beschi, *A Grammar of the Common Dialect of the Tamul Language*, … composed for the use of the missionaries of the Society of Jesus, translated from original Latin by George William Mahon (Madras: 1848), 7.

43 Tranquebar Pietist mission has been praised in the Protestant hagiographic histories, but it had also been the subject of serious scholarly efforts. On Pietist Tamil grammar, see Daniel Jeyaraj, *Tamil Language for Europeans: Ziegenbalg's Grammatica Damulica*(*1716*), transl. from Latin and Tamil (Wiesbaden: 2010).

44 There is no systematic research done and almost no publications dedicated to the Jesuit 17th-century printing press in Ambazhakad (or Ambalacatta) in Kerala. See, Thomas Malten, "Antam de Proença's Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary, Printed in India in 1679," in *Goa and Portugal: Their Cultural Links*, (eds.) Charles J. Borges and Helmut Feldmann (New Delhi: 1997), 271–279. On Tamil lexicography see Gregory James, *Tamil Lexicography* (Tübingen: 1991), especially chapter 3.

45 Maria Cândida Drumond Mendes Barros, "Notas sobre os catecismos em línguas vernáculas das colônias portuguesas (séculos XVI–XVII)," *Iberoromania* 57/1 (2003) 27–63. The catechism by Marcos Jorge was also translated into Kõṅkaṇī, Japanese, Kikongo, Tupi

Even the simple prayers and commandments of the Short Catechism/ Primer in a given language had to be modified from time to time, or depending on regional linguistic and social differences. Tamil Christian expressions on the Fishery coast, developed for the Parava fisher folk had to be modified for the audience in Madurai, considered the center of the Tamil literature and of the learned literati. The divergence from the European "original" is clearly visible in narrative and poetic works written by the missionaries for their converts. In fact, some of the catechetical works were original pieces in themselves.

In 1660s, Baltazar da Costa judged that the Ñaṉayupatecam (a catechism or "spiritual teaching") written by his famous predecessor Roberto Nobili and published in Ambazhakad in 1677, deserved to be translated into Portuguese for the use of other missions and for the edification of the Portuguese missionaries.[46] Another unstated reason was the fact that ecclesiastical authorities in Goa and the Jesuit rivals in India and elsewhere were getting increasingly uneasy about Jesuit translations into languages that very few of them were able to understand or check, and to prove the Catholic orthodoxy of Nobili's catechetical literature in Tamil and Sanskrit.

Largely understudied, especially given the quantity of texts translated in Persian, in addition to reports by the missionaries, is the Jesuit mission at the Mughal court. In particular the so called third mission, which started in 1595 with Jerome Xavier at its helm, invested a huge amount of energy in Persian language translations of Catholic catechetical and even lay works. There was no accommodation to Islam, not in the way that was possible with religions that barely had a name, but the Jesuits applied the same method of targeting Mughal kings and aristocracy, and using literature in the language of the literati. Especially Jerome Xavier, the grand-nephew of Francis Xavier wrote a few long treatises such as *Mir'āt al-quds* (Mirror of Holiness), with a help of his

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and other mission languages. It was promoted by Jesuits as an instrument of discipline, uniformity and centralization in teaching the doctrine, recommended by the Council of Trent. See also, older works by Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, *A Galáxia das Línguas na Época da Expansão* (Lisbon: 1992) and *O estudo das línguas exóticas no século XVI* (Lisbon: 1983).

46 Both the printed Tamil text and the translation into Portuguese can be found in Panjim in India. Roberto Nobili, *Ñaṉayupatecam* (Ambalacatta: No Officina de Ignacio de Archamonio, 1677) in Goa, Panjim Central Library, 1a and 1b. Balthazar da Costa's Portuguese translation of Nobili's Ñaṉayupatecam remained in manuscript. Roberto Nobili, *Catechismo em que se expl*[*icam*] *todas as verdades catolica*, 1661, in Goa, Panjim Central Library, MS. 6.

informant Abd' al-Sattar b. Qasim Lahawri in which he both refuted Islam and promoted Christianity.[47]

One of the differences between Nobili and Xavier, both of whom were missionaries around the same time and were prolific writers in Tamil and Persian respectively, was the status of their mission in the Portuguese political scheme. While for the Iberians Islam was considered as irreconcilable religious other, the Mughal Empire was the most important political power in India. Although both Nobili and Xavier were considered diplomatic emissaries (if not openly spies) by the Portuguese Estado, Xavier was far more so than Nobili, who went out of his way to declare that he was not a Portuguese.[48] In addition, South Indian lesser kings and the "gentile" religion were perhaps more alien, but far less threatening.

The mission at the Mughal royal court continued through the 17th and the 18th century in spite of various persecutions and setbacks, while the nature of the mission and the targets changed. Already in the early 17th century, it became a headquarter for other sprouting missions, such as the one to Tsaparang led by António de Andrade and later on to what was called Tibetan mission, and further on for facilitating geographical explorations such as Bento de Góis's travel to China (Cathay). Consequently, new languages were "discovered" among which figured prominently Hindavi (Hindi and Urdu), Tibetan and Sanskrit, as well as Kaṇṇaḍa, Telugu and Bengali.[49] As elsewhere

47 Pedro Moura Carvalho (ed.) and Wheeler M. Thackston, transl., *Mir'āt al-quds* (*Mirror of Holiness*)*: A Life of Christ for Emperor Akbar* (Leiden-Boston: 2012). In the later period, the conversion of the non-Muslims within the Mughal empire became more attractive to the Jesuits, but the results were always meager. Among other and still barely studied works are *Fuente de Vida* (*Fountain of Life*) *or A'ina-i haqq-numa* (*Truth-Showing Mirror*) and *Ādāb al-salṭanat* (*The Duties of Kingship*). Adel Sidarus, "A Western Mirror for Princes for Eastern Potentate, by Jerome Xavier SJ for the Mogul Emperor," *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 63/1 (2011), 73–98. See also Arnulf Camps, *Jerome Xavier SJ and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire; Controversial works and missionary activity* (Schöneck-Beckenried: 1957), 13–50.

48 See Županov, *Disputed Mission*, 49.

49 No scholarly attention has been given to the Jesuit Mysore mission, established by a Neapolitan Jesuit, Leonardo Cinnami (1609–1676). As for Bengali mission, little is known except that Francisco Fernandes and Domingos de Souza wrote "a treatise in confirmation of the things of our Faith, and confutation of the sects of the Moors and Gentiles, and a short Catechism" in Bengali sometime after 1598. See Luis de Guzman, *Historia de las Missiones que han hecho los Religiosos de la compañia de Iesus* (Alcalá: 1601), 161. In the 18th century, an Augustinian Fr. Manoel de Assumpção wrote a grammar and had it published in Lisbon in 1743. Manuel da Assumpção *Vocabulario em idioma bengalla, e portuguez. Dividido em duas partes* (Lisbon: 1743).

the Jesuits proceeded with description of these languages by way of grammars (*artes*) and vocabularies before translations of basic prayers and catechetical literature. Among Jerome Xavier's lost works is also a Hindustānī Catechism (*Doutrina em Lingoa Indostana*), now lost or not yet retrieved.[50] He was only one of the linguistically talented missionaries at the Mughal Court. Heinrich Roth learnt Sanskrit in six years while staying in Agra, according to Athanasius Kircher, with the help of a Brahmin teacher.[51] Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat has recently shown that Roth not only mastered the language, but also engaged with philosophical texts he read and partly translated into Latin.[52]

Even if the Jesuits in the 16th and especially in the 17th century were socially, culturally and linguistically embedded in their missionary fields, all the while cultivating their global connections, the material from their "vernacular" world did not easily travel. In the long run, missionary translations, grammars and vocabularies enriched Roman, Portuguese, French and other European archives without necessarily stimulating "orientalist" scholarship. One of the reasons was indifference and disdain of those who received the documents. The case of Athanasius Kircher's treatment of received oriental documents is well known and his highhanded actions were responsible for the neglect of Roth's Sanskrit grammar.[53] Another reason was that the missionaries themselves treated this kind of literature as a work in progress and often used each other's compositions without acknowledgment of authorship and by rewriting older texts and forgetting to mention the sources.

When from the 17th century onwards the rival missionaries poured into South Asia, sent by the Propaganda Fide, many of the Jesuit texts found a new life, albeit scarcely given credit to their authors, in the books printed in Rome. In particular, the Discalced Carmelites who were sent by the

50 Camps, *Jerome Xavier SJ and the Muslims*, 33–34.

51 Arnulf Camps and Jean-Claude Muller, eds, *The Sanskrit Grammar and Manuscripts of Father Heinrich Roth S.J. 1610–1668*(Facsimile Edition of Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome, Ms., Or 171 and 172) (Leiden: 1988).

52 Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, "L'approche scientifique du sanscrit et de la pensée indienne par Heinrich Roth, S. J. au XVIIe siècle," in *L'œuvre scientifique des missionnaires en Asie; Journée d'études organisés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres et la Société Asiatique* (Palais de l'Institute, 9 janvier 2009), (eds.) Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, Jean-Pierre Mahé, and Jean Leclant (Paris: 2011), 17–30.

53 For Kircher's compilation and publishing strategy see Daniel Stolzenberg, *Egyptian Oedipus: Antiquarianism, Oriental Studies and Occult Philosophy in the Work of Athanasius Kircher,* unpublished PhD diss., Stanford University, 2004. See also Florence Hsia, "Athanasius Kircher's *China Illustrata* (1667): An Apologia *Pro Vita Sua*," in *The Last Man who Knew Everything,* (ed.) Paula Findlein (New York: 2014), 389–390.

Propaganda Fide with a mission to substitute Jesuit missionaries in Kerala among the St. Thomas Christians, and reclaim the missions for the Papacy and against the Portuguese padroado, whose influence in the area had been, among other reasons, compromised by the Dutch conquest of Cochin, chose the genre of travel literature to impart and advertise their experience. This meant tapping into the archives of the Jesuit Syriac specialists such a Catalan Francesc Ros (or Francisco Roz) and the famous collector of the local Puranic literature such as Francisco Garcia.[54]

By inaugurating the Propaganda Fide missions with the literary genre of a travelogue, a *viaggio*, as most of these texts were called in their printed version, the Discalced Carmelites tried to camouflage the fact that they were the rivals of the Portuguese missions.[55] From Philippe de la Très Sainte Trinité's *Itinerarium*, translated into French as *Voyage* to Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *Viaggo alle Indie Orientali*, these books were, in fact, much more than travelogues.[56] They were compendia of all old and new missionary knowledge, mostly borrowed from the manuscripts of the Portuguese padroado missionaries, from botany, geography, architecture to ethnography, linguistics and history. Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, "the last missionary orientalist" was also the one who collected, wrote and published documents on just about everything. He not only wrote a grammar-manual for learning English through Malayalam and Portuguese for Rama Varma, the King of Travancore, but also takes credit

54 On Francesc Ros and his expertise in Syriac literature, as well as his seminary for the education of the St. Thomas Christian clergy in Vaipikotta, see various articles by István Perczel, such as "Classical Syriac as a Modern Lingua Franca in South India between 1600 and 2006," *Aram Periodical* 29 (2009), 289–321 and "Gershuni Malayalam; A Witness to an Early Stage of Indian Christian Literature," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, 17/2 (2014), 263–323. For the 20th-century edition of Garcia's texts see Dom Francisco Garcia, *O homem das trinta e duas perfeições e outras historias* (*Ms. Opp. nn. 192 do Arq. Rom. S.J.*), *escritos da literatura Indiana; traduzidos por Dom Francisco Garcia S.J.,* published and anotaded by José Wicki S.J., (Lisbon: 1958).

55 The genre of *viaggio* had been developed in particular among the Italian (Florentines and Venetians) humanist travelers. On the cosmopolitan quality of these narratives that were also "handbooks for merchants" see Giuseppe Marcocci, " Renaissance Italy Meets South Asia; Florentines and Venetians in a Cosmopolitan World, " in *Cosmopolitisme en Asie du Sud; Sources, itinéraires, langues* (*xvie-xviiie siècle*), (eds.) Corinne Lefèvre, Ines G. Županov and Jorge Flores, collection *Puruṣārtha* (Paris: 2015), 45–69. These missionary "viaggios" can be considered as "handbooks for missionaries".

56 Philippe de la Très Sainte Trinité (1603–71) first published his travelogue in Latin, *Itinerarium Orientale*, (Lyon: 1649). The French translation appeared as *Voyage d'Orient*, (Lyon: 1669). Xavier and Županov, *Catholic Orientalism,* 298–299.

for publishing the first Sanskrit grammar.[57] The *Sidharubam seu Grammatica Samscrdamica* appeared in 1791, based on indigenous grammatical tradition and on the Sanskrit grammar manuscript by a German (padroado) Jesuit, Ernst Hanxleden.[58] This was only one of the books printed in the *stamperia poliglotta* of the Propaganda Fide, one of the most important "orientalist" printing presses of the 18th century, created to showcase the work of the Propaganda Fide missionaries, to inspire new missionary vocations, and to supplant and efface the Portuguese missionary presence in Asia.[59] As a result, during the late 18th century, Rome became the center of missionary information and orientalist learning.

9.5 A Quest for Missionary Method

Learning Indian vernacular languages, in addition to those considered "scientific" or "sacred" such as Sanskrit and Syriac, or noble such as Persian had been extremely time consuming activity for the missionaries in South Asia. Those who were neither talented nor willing to cultivate linguistic erudition and reflection, were able to invest themselves in liturgical and ecclesiastical duties, some others were employed as administrators or helped with secular tasks. The Jesuits instituted the category of temporal coadjutors precisely in order to recruit those who had religious vocation but were also useful as painters, architects, physicians, and cooks, laundrymen and similar. The institutionalized social division within the body of the religious order was not always a ticket to angelic harmony among the members, but it opened the ranks to people from all walks of life and with good chances to social (or spiritual) promotion for the smartest and the most talented of them.

57 Paolino da S. Bartolomeo [Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo], Carmelito scalzo, *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali, umiliato alla Santita di N.S Papa Pio Sesto Pontefice Massimo* (Rome: 1976).

58 See Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *Sidharubam seu Grammatica Samscrdamica* (Rome: [1790] 1791). Christophe Vieille and Toon van Hal, *Grammatica Grandonica: The Sanskrit Grammar of Johann Ernst Hanxleden s.j. (1681–1732)*, introduced and edited (Potsdam: 2013).

59 Willi Henkel, "The Polyglot Printing-office of the Congregation, The press apostolate as an important means for communicating the faith," in *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, 1622–1700, (ed.) J. Metzler, vol. 1/1 (Rome, Freiburg, Wien: 1972), 335–350, Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Agli antipodi di Babele: Propaganda Fide tra immagine cosmopolita e orizzonti romani (XVII-XIX secolo)," *Storie di Roma, Anuali* 16 (Turin: 2000), 477–518.

The most successful in employing their members for different tasks and commanding their adherence to the common goal were Jesuits with their tripartite division of professed fathers of four vows, spiritual and temporal coadjutors. Trained through spiritual exercises and bound by the *Constitutions*, they were especially sensitive to social and cultural distinctions and differences, and skillful in detecting and applying psychological nuances in intersubjective interactions. For example, one of the rule was to send at least two missionaries to distant missions and to choose them for their complementary qualities (old/young; experienced/learned; spiritually exalted/practical, etc.).

Depending on the cultural and social configuration on the ground, and the distance from and the relation with the centers of colonial administration, this formula did not always work well. Especially among the Jesuits who were recruited from different Catholic milieus and brought with them various social habits, the clash was unavoidable. It created, however, a fertile ground for self-reflection and cultural experimentation.

The method of accommodation and the subsequent Malabar and Chinese rites quarrel that involved Jesuits in particular, but also all missionary orders, the Papacy and the royal courts started in particular missions. In India, it is dated to 1610 when a dispute between Jesuits flared up in Madurai.[60] This amply studied incident underwent different interpretations in Jesuit and mission historiography. In recent decades it ranged from the celebration of Jesuit cultural cosmopolitanism and openness to promoting and naturalizing entrenched high caste (Brahmanical) social mindset.

In fact, the dispute in Madurai between a young, noble Italian Jesuit Roberto Nobili and the old, Portuguese, ex-soldier Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso has been a déjà vu of other similar disputes, such as the one between Francisco Cabral and Alessandro Valignano over the mission in Japan.[61] These kinds of disputes continued later on into the 18th century between Capuchins and Jesuits, all of whom were French and sent to India by the French king. This is why it is possible to call them the Malabar rites quarrels (in plural).[62]

60 Županov, *Disputed Mission.* See also Paolo Aranha, "Sacramenti o saṃskārāḥ? L'illusione dell'accommodatio nella controversia dei riti malabarici," *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 31 (2010), 621–646.

61 J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth Century Japan* (London: 1993).

62 Paulo Aranha, "'Glocal' conflicts: missionary controversies on the Coromandel coast between the XVII and XVIII Centuries," in *Evangelizzazione e Globalizzazione; Le missioni gesuitiche nell'età moderna tra storia e storiografia*, (eds.) Michela Catto, Guido Mongini and Silvia Mostaccio (Città di Castello: 2010), 79–104.

The major question, as already mentioned, raised by these quarrels over the method of accommodation that can be traced in Indian mission field to Juan de Albuquerque's letter to Queen of Portugal (1549) was to what extent conversion to Christianity can be unlinked from Portuguese or any European empire, culture and language. After separating Christianity from the European political and cultural framework, the question was: what other framework should and must be chosen in the local context? The solutions proposed continued to be contentious and provocative. This quest for an ideal and universal missionary method was at the heart of the early modern debates that along the way raised the question of the relation and the distinction between social/political and religious.

The Franciscan bishop Juan de Albuquerque's approval of the approach that can be termed Catholic Nicodemism in the context of Portuguese political weakness vis-a-vis local kingdoms and structures of authority had been wholeheartedly espoused and cultivated by Roberto Nobili. Coming from Rome in which Paleochristian revival already took place in art and architecture in the later part of the 16th century, Nobili conceived his Madurai mission not simply as a metaphor of a "primitive" church, but as a metonym.[63]

If the Portuguese, in particular those imbued with humanist ideals in the first half of the 16th century, were eager to find vestiges of European antiquity in India, the Jesuit missionaries sent to "reduce [to obedience]" the St. Thomas Christians to Catholicism were certain of a very long Christian presence in South Asia. The myth of St. Thomas's life and death at the hands of wicked Brahmans had been told over and over again in different versions, blending St. Thomas Christian's tradition with that of the Catholic missionaries.[64] The story of Alexander the Great, promoted by the Portuguese, also seeped into the Asian Christian lore. It reappeared in the 18th century in Goan Catholic Brahman historical identity narratives all the way to *kafrinhas* (little songs of Kaffirs) still performed by the Sri Lankan Kaffir (mixed Afro-Asian) communities.[65]

63 Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque; Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto: 2003)

64 Ines G. Županov, "'One Civility, but Multiple Religion': Jesuit Mission among St. Thomas Christians in India (16th–17th centuries)," *Journal of Early Modern History* 9.3–4 (2005), 284–325.

65 According to Ângela Barreto Xavier, the myth of Alexander the Great became "new totemism" for its capacity to synthetize the relation between Europeans and Goans. Ângela Barreto Xavier, 'The Tragedy of Porus: Empire and Politics in 18th century Goa', in *L'Inde des Lumières,* collection *Puruṣārtha* 31 (Paris: 2013), 13–34. See also, Vincent Barletta,

It is this foreknowledge and muddled memory of St. Thomas Apostle's presence and the spread of the Christian message (which had been falsified and hidden by local rivals, the Brahmans in particular, as the story goes) that the Jesuits developed and partly used to justify the method of accommodation in southern Indian continental missions. From the middle of the 17th century when Athanasius Kircher promoted his version of universal Catholicism as global history, the origins and connections were pushed back to the Noa's arc and even before.

Therefore, when the French Jesuits arrived in southern India, supported by the French king, and under the suspicious and hostile gaze of the Portuguese padroado authorities, they brought with them already crystalized layers of (if scarcely consistent) ideas on Indian antiquity. Jean Venant Bouchet, who first spent some time in the Madurai mission before being called to found the French, *Mission du Carnate*, worked from the premise that Indians received their "religion from the Books of Moses and Prophets."[66] In this he was inspired, among others, by Pierre-Daniel Huet and his book *Demonstratio Evangelica* (Paris: 1679) whose prodigal erudition had been used to prove that the gods and heroes of the oldest nations were nothing but Moses disfigured (*défiguré*).[67]

Some kind of diffusionist theory or theory of common origins seemed to have been taken for granted among the missionaries in India by the end of

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Death in Babylon: Alexander the Great and Iberian Empire in the Muslim Orient (Chicago: 2010). Kenneth David Jackson, *Sing without Shame: Oral Traditions in Indo-Portuguese Creole Verse* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia, Macau: 1990) On Alexander's role in millenarian state building in the early modern South Asia, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Early Modern Euroasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31/3 (1997), 735–762.

66 "Lettre du Père Bouchet de la Compagnie de Jésus, Missionnaire de Maduré, et Superieur de la nouvelle Mission de Carnate. A Monseigneur (Huet) l'ancien Evesque d'Avaranches," in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. IX (Paris: 1711), 4. See also Ines G. Županov, "La science et la démonologie: le missions des jésuites français en Inde (XVIIIe siecle)," in *Missions d'évangélisation et circulation des savoirs, XVIe –XVIIIe siècle*, (eds.) Charlotte de Castelnau, Marie-Lucie Copete, Aliocha Maldavsku, Ines G. Županov (Madrid: 2011), 401–422. Will Sweetman, "The Cessation of the Oracles: Authenticity and Authority in Jesuit Reports of Possession in South India," in *Intercultural Encounter and the Jesuit Mission in South Asia*, (eds.) Anand Amaladass and Ines G. Županov (Bangalore: 2014), 156–178.

67 On French Jesuit Figurism in China see A. H. Rowbotham, "The Jesuit Figurists and Eighteenth Century Thought," *Journal of the History of Ideas* XVII (1956), 471–485 and David E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Wiesbaden: 1985), in particular chapter 9. Alexandre Landry, *Rhétorique des discours anti philosophiques de l'Encyclopédie à la Révolution*, unpublished Phd thesis, (Trois Rivières, Quebec: 2011).

the 18th century and slipped easily first into Protestant missionary chronology and to Orientalist theories. Thus Mathurin Veyssière de la Croze who normally poured scorn on Portuguese and Jesuit opinions and descriptions, found the two letters by Jean Venant Bouchet to Pierre Daniel Huet, published in *Lettre édifiantes et curieuses*, very "fine" pieces.[68] They supported his theory, which was, in fact, not very original in itself but came with a new appealingly erudite demonstrations, that Brahman idolatry originated in Egypt. At the end of the century, Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo who himself had read and digested all missionary, Catholic and Protestant, as well as non-missionary accounts and opinions on Indian religion, made Brahmanical system into a living history of the European past and thus comparable in everything to ancient Egypt and Greece.[69]

9.6 The Apogee and End of Catholic Missionary Knowledge

Over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries the Portuguese padroado missionaries experimented with various methods of conversion, ranging from violent destruction of temples and idols to extreme forms of accommodation to particular social groups (Brahmans and Kshatriyas) identified as noble, learned, pious or leaders of the communities. To justify one or the other method, the missionaries produced a huge amount of documents, some printed while many remained in manuscript. Although not all of these written texts were widely diffused, the missionaries, who had access in situ, became the most learned "orientalists" of the early modern period. According to Joan Pau Rubiés, precisely at the very moment when the confidence in their ability to convert quickly and definitely the non-Christians faltered in the late 16th and the early 17th century, there appeared what he calls the missionary "indological turn".[70]

The importance of missionary knowledge, from an excellent mastery of vernacular and sacred languages to hermeneutic engagement with non-Christian

68 La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, 469.

69 See Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *Systema Brahmanicum Liturgicum Mythologicum Civile ex Monumentis Indicis Musei Borgiani Velitris, Dissertationibus historico-criticis* (Rome: 1791).

70 On the Jesuit contribution and their "indological" turn see Rubiés, *Travel*, 308–348, and Joan-Pau Rubiès, "The Jesuit Discovery of Hinduism: Antonio Rubino's Account of the History and Religion of Vijayanagara (1608)," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 3 (2001): 210–256.

esoteric texts, and in addition to ethnographic descriptions of practices and rites, from the 17th century onwards is attested by the increasing volume of manuscripts and published books produced by the religious orders. Not all missionary efforts were turned to understanding the "gentile" religion and social organization.[71] The missionaries also collected information on natural history, medicine, pharmacology, indigenous philosophical and grammatical schools, techniques of dyes and mordants and weaving, astronomy and mathematics.[72]

For the Jesuits in particular, accumulating, systematizing and disseminating knowledge was part of their "duties."[73] However, by the end of the 17th century, all other missionary orders were emulating Jesuit literary zeal. In fact, some of them, such as the Franciscan Paulo da Trindade (1570–1651), wrote his *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, in order to promote the Franciscan priority claim to presence in Asia, just as was done by the Franciscans in Mexico.[74] Not only were Franciscans interested in geography, chorography and ethnography of their missions, they were also keen observers of the natural "riches" of the Orient. Just like Jesuits, their knowledge was a result of collaboration with local literati and specialists. However, unlike Jesuits, the Franciscans rarely considered this expertise as an independent research separate from their spiritual quest or activity. In addition, due to the complicated divisions within

71 The most important 18th-century Jesuit treatise on Indian customs had been reconstructed from various fragmented manuscripts by Sylvia Murr. See Sylvia Murr, *L'Inde Philosophique entre Bossuet et Voltaire*, vol. I, *Moeurs et Coutumes des Indiens* (*1777*) (Paris: 1987) and *L'Inde Philosophique entre Bossuet et Voltaire*, vol. II, *L'Indologie du Père Coeurdoux—stratégies, apologétique et scientificité* (Paris: 1987). Although better known as a martyr of the Society of Jesus, João de Brito's ethnographic work—*Breve noticia dos erros que tem os Gentios do Concão na India* (s.d.) Biblioteca da Ajuda, cod. 51—VII—27, Miscelânea Ultramarina—Século XVII, fols. 81 v—116 r.– is still understudied. For a valuable effort see Ricardo Ventura's unpublished PhD dissertation: *Conversão e Conversabilidade. Discursos de missão e do gentio na documentação do Padroado Português do Oriente* (*séculos XVI e XVII*) (Lisbon: 2011).

72 For astronomy and mathematics see, Dhruv Raina, "A Neglected Field: The Histoirographic Frames for the Jesuit Sciences in India", in *Intercultural Encounter*, Amaladass and Županov, eds., 250–189.

73 Luce Giard, "Le devoir de l'intelligence ou l'insertion des jésuites dans le monde du savoir, " in *Les jésuites à la Renaissance. Système éducatif et production du savoir*, (ed.) Luce Giard (Paris: 1995), XI-LXXIX. For Jesuit "ministry of the word" which shaped the Jesuit way of knowing, see O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*.

74 Xavier and Županov, *Catholic Orientalism*, 172–183. Paulo da Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente,* 3 vols. (1636) (Lisbon: 1962–67).

the Franciscan family and the lack of centralized authority, the knowledge collected in India went mostly unnoticed by the metropolitan historians of universal history such as Manuel dos Anjos.[75] Interestingly they preferred recycling older, Greco-Roman imprecise descriptions to first-hand witness reports from India, even those written by contemporary Franciscans.

The Jesuits, on the other hand, made a sustained and organized effort at collecting, discussing and improving on the materials coming from all parts of the world. The universal histories of their order were not only monumental hagiographies, they were also respectful of the local knowledge coming from the mission "peripheries".

The institution that learnt sufficiently from the Jesuit missionary example, from the gains and losses, success and errors was the Propaganda Fide, established in 1622 with a barely hidden intention to take over the global missionary field and direct it from Rome. In South Asia, the Propaganda Fide sponsored all those missions that were considered either abandoned, usually for political reasons, such as the one among the St. Thomas Christians in Kerala, or beyond the reach of the Portuguese padroado, such as the Italian Capuchin Tibetan (or Bettiah) mission in northern India. The non-Portuguese members of religious orders such as Discalced Carmelites, Theatines and Capuchins who were not welcome in Goa and in Portuguese India as "missionaries"—but were tolerated and at times they did manage to find local patrons, and establish their churches in the heart of the padroado territory—were favored as envoys by the Propaganda Fide.

Unlike Discalced Carmelites who were actually sent from Rome to take over the abandoned Jesuit mission among the St. Thomas Christians, the beginning of the Theatine and Capuchin presence was more haphazard. In the 17th century the Propaganda missionaries were allowed to wonder around in search of the mission and they usually arrived by land since the sea journey on a Portuguese ship had not been a possibility.

A group of Italian Theatines, for example, first stopped in Georgia where they founded a Catholic community, then passed through Aleppo and Persian Gulf (Basra, Bandar ʿAbbās) before arriving to Goa from where they sent a single missionary to Golconda, a Shiite kingdom in the Deccan, reputed for its opulence and riches. Another reason why the Theatines tried their luck in Golconda was the result of their encounter in Goa with the Brahman Catholic priests who had links with the Propaganda Fide and the controversial Goan

75 Manuel dos Anjos, *A Historia Universal do Mundo em que se descrevem os Impérios, Monarchias, Reynos, e Províncias do Mundo com muitas cousas notáveis que há nelle* was first published in Coimbra in 1651, then in 1702 and 1735.

Brahman vicar and Propaganda bishop, Mateus de Castro (1594–1677).[76] Left on their own, without support from the Portuguese and with only distant support from Rome, those few missionaries either died in their missions or moved on. In fact, the Theatines and the Capuchins are found by the end of the 17th and in the 18th century in the Indian coastal enclaves of the European commercial companies. Rather than missionary work they settled for the job of parish priests, taking care of foreign (Georgian, Armenian) and local converts.

Another group of Capuchins arrived in the 18th century in order to take over the Tibetan Mission assigned by the Propaganda Fide in 1703 to the Capuchin friars of the Picena province. The Jesuits who also had their interests in the area resisted, but after acrimonious exchanges between the two orders and the Propaganda Fide in the 1721, the last Jesuit Ippolito Desideri relinquished the mission and returned to Rome via Pondicherry. The struggle continued in Europe and produced quite a lot of texts and printed books. What started as a jurisdictional struggle, branched out into intellectual controversy concerning the nature of Buddhist theology, rites and customs.[77] In the later part of the 18th century, when the mission moved to Bettiah near Patna, but preserved its name as Tibetan, another group of Italian Capuchins from Le Marche arrived and left quite a few works on Hindu religion and culture and translations to and from Hindi.[78]

Perhaps the ugliest dispute among the missionary orders happened in Pondicherry, between the Capuchins and the Jesuits, over the right to be in

76 Anne Kroell, "Missions théatines à Golgonde au XVIIe siècle," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, 101/2 (1989), 911–923. Scholarly works on Mateus de Castro are quite rare and not always satisfactory. See, Théodore Ghesquière, *Mathieu de Castro, Premier vicaire apostolique aux Indes: Une création de la Propagande a ses débuts* (Louvain: 1937); Giuseppe Sorge, *Matteo de Castro (1594- 1677): Profilo di una figura emblematica del conflitto giurisdizionale tra Goa e Roma nel secolo XVII* (Bologna: 1986).

77 Ippolito Desideri, *Mission to Tibet: The Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Account of Father Ippolito Desideri, S.* J., translated by Michael J. Sweet and edited by Leonard Zwilling (New York: 2010). See also Michael J. Sweet, "Desperately Seeking Capuchins: Manoel Freyre's Report on the Tibets and their Routes (*Tibetorum ac eorum Relatio Viarum*) and the Desideri Mission to Tibet." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 2 (August 2006): 1–33. Michael J. Sweet, "The Devil's Stratagem or Human Fraud: Ippolito Desideri on the Reincarnate Succession of the Dalai Lama," *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 29 (2009) 131–140.

78 So far only David N. Lorenzen Sbrega produced some excellent scholarship on this mission. David N. Lorenzen, *Who Invented Hinduism* (New Delhi, 2006) in particular the chapter: "Marco della Tomba in Hindustan," 227–240. See also David N. Lorenzen, *The Scourge of the Mission: Marco della Tomba in Hindustan* (New Delhi: 210).

charge of Indian neophytes. The bishop of São Thomé de Meliapore granted the pastoral care of the Europeans and those of Luso-Indian origins to the Capuchins under the pretext that the Jesuits were more useful in the parishes and missions where only Tamil or other Indian languages were spoken. The dispute provoked the last and the decisive moments in the Malabar rites controversies, with the Capuchin Norbert de Bar-Le Duc (1703–1769) adding oil on fire in his various printed works aiming at destroying Jesuit missions in India, China and Indochina.[79]

French Capuchin resistance to Jesuit type of accommodation engendered "unnatural" affinities and political alliances. Capuchin Ephrem de Nevers (formerly Etienne Le Clerc), the founder of the first Christian church in Fort St. George in 1642, the settlement of the East India Company in what is called today Chennai (formerly Madras), somewhat paradoxically accommodated Christianity to the Anglican confession professed by the English officers.[80] He abolished statues in his church, lest they be misinterpreted as pagan idols. In his effort to purify Christianity from any superstition he ended provoking the Goan Inquisitions and was put on trial between 1649 and 1651. Similarly, Matteo di San Giuseppe, a Discalced Carmelite missionary sent by the Propaganda Fide, profited from his friendship and mutual interest in natural history with Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede tot Drakenstein (1637–91), a Commissioner General of the Dutch East India Company (or VOC) in Cochin. He received a piece of land in Chatiath (Vaduthala) to build the first church of his order as a gratitude for sharing his botanical expertise that went into *Hortus Indicus*

79 See Paolo Aranha, "*Les meilleurs causes embarrassent les juges, si elles manquent de bonnes preuves*: Père Norbert's Militant Historiography of the Malabar Rites Controversy, " in *Europäische Geschichtskulturen um 1700 zwischen Gelehrsamkeit, Politik und Konfession,* (eds.) Thomas Wallnig, Thomas Stockinger, Ines Peper, Patrick Fiska (Munich: 2012), 239–270.

80 See, J. A. Ismael Gracias, "Fr. Ephraim de Nevers e a Inquisição de Goa," *O Oriente Português* 9–10/ 8 (1911), 201–211; Francis Richard, " Ephrem de Nevers et Zénon de Baugé, premiers auteurs français d'ouvrages en tamoul," *Moyen- Orient et Océan Indien* 6 (1989), 151–163; Charles Dellon*, L'Inquisition de Goa: la relation de Charles Dellon* (*1687*), (eds.) Charles Amiel and Anne Lima (Paris: 1997); Glen J. Ames, "The Perils of Spreading the True Faith in Asia: Fr. Ephraim de Nevers and the Goa Inquisition, 1650–1651," *Western Society for French History: Proceedings*, 22 (1996), 81–94; Marcus P. M. Vink, "Church and State in Seventeenth-century Colonial Asia: Dutch- Parava Relations in Southeast India in a Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Early Modern History* 4/1 (2000), 1–43; Glen J. Ames, "Trade and Inquisition: Fr. Ephraim de Nevers, M. Dellon and the Challenges Confronting the French in India, ca. 1650–1677," *Western Society for French History: Proceedings* 28 (2002), 113–126.

Malabaricus, published in Amsterdam between 1678 and 1703. The Propaganda Fide therefore had a dubious role (from the Portuguese point of view, of course) of disturbing and dividing the missionary field in South Asia, in addition to generating new unimaginable coalitions.

In the French colonial settlement of Pondicherry, the French missionary orders—the Jesuits, the Capuchins and the *Société des missions étrangères de Paris* (MEP in abbreviation) not only competed for the French royal patronage and denounced each other to the Propaganda Fide and at times to Portuguese ecclesiastical institutions in India, they also appropriated each other's material and intellectual property.[81] From 1720s, the Jesuits in Pondicherry were commissioned to collect paper and palm leaf manuscripts and all other "curious" books in India for the royal library in Paris. The stipend included at least two copies, one to be sent to Paris and another for the Jesuits. This "deal" allowed the missionaries for the first time to acquire and keep in India ancient, secret or learned "books" that were impossible to get before.[82] When in 1739, Etienne Fourmont published his *Catalogus codicum Bibliothecae Regiae*, there were 287 manuscripts in Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Old Syriac sent from India.[83] This was a formidable Indological library, but there were no scholars even to appreciate the fact that the manuscripts of the three Vedas were already in Paris. The quest for the Vedas ended with the British claiming to have discovered them or rather acquired them first.[84]

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81 For the récent historiography of the Société des Missions Etrangères, see Catherine Marin, (ed.), *La Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris—350 ans à la rencontre de l'Asie* (*1658–2008*) (Paris: 2010).

82 Gerard Colas dates the first order to 1728, while the Jesuits started sending manuscripts a year later. It seems that between 1729 and 1730 they sent copies of the manuscripts on paper, while from 1732 to 1735, according to the wish expressed by Abbé Bignon, they sent mostly 'ole' (*olai*) or the palm leaf manuscripts. Gerard Colas, "Les manuscrits envoyés de l'Inde par les jésuites français entre 1729 et 1735," in *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, eds. François Déroche and Francis Richard (Paris: 1997), 355.

83 Xavier and Županov, *Catholic Orientalism*, 304.

84 It was in 1788 that Antoine-Louis Polier returned to Europe and gave a copy of the Vedas in 11 volumes to the British Museum. For Polier see, Alam, Muzaffar and Seema Alavi, *A European Experience of the Mughal Orient: The Ijaz-I Arsalani* (*Persian Letters, 1773–1779*) *of Antoine-Louis Henri Polier* (New Delhi: 2008).With the publication of translated excerpts of William Jones in 1798, as is usually claimed, the "scientific" period of studying Vedas began. See also Dorothy M. Figueira, "The Authority of an Absent Text; The Veda, Upangas, Upavedas, and Upnekhata in European Thought," in *Authority, Anxiety, and Canon: Essays in Vedic Interpretation*, (ed.) Lauri Patton (Albany: 1994), 201–234.

Not just books, but a long tradition of Jesuit ethnographical observations, from the 16th century onwards, that remained in manuscript and were copied and passed over from missionary to missionary—often without a clearly marked authorship—became an easy prey once this kind of information acquired a high market value. The establishment of the British colonial rule generated a demand for detailed knowledge in and about South Asia. From the recent research on the Calcutta "Orientalist" clique and the Madras "School of Orientalism", it is clear that in addition to curiosity and linguistic talent, the scholar-administrators such as William Jones, Colin Mackenzie, Francis Whyte Ellis and many others had at their disposal a huge amount of money, compared to Catholic missionaries in particular, which they were willing to spend on acquisition of local literary materials.[85]

The story of Gaston-Laurent Coeurdoux, one of the last Jesuits in the mission before the abolition of the order, and the reappropriations of his ethnographic text—*Moeurs et coutumes des indiens* (1777)—has been famously recaptured and reconstructed by Sylvia Murr in the late 1980s. Not only did Abbé Dubois, a missionary of the MEP borrow a huge amount of information from Coeurdoux's manuscript and from the French Jesuit library that had been incorporated into the Parisian missionary society after the abolition of the Society of Jesus, but he sold his text (for two thousand *pagodas* in 1807) to the British without acknowledgement to anybody.[86] Coeurdoux's astronomical and botanical work had also been borrowed in a similar highhanded way by the French travelers-cum-scientists such as Pierre Sonnerat, Pierre Poivre and G. J. H. J. B. Le Gentil, all of whom were actors in what Dhruv Raina calls "the era of [European] secular enchantment with India."[87]

By the end of the 18th century, with the Society of Jesus dismantled, with Portuguese failure to maintain its imperial support of the missions, and with

85 See Thomas R. Trautmann's work on both Calcutta and Madras orientalists: *Aryans and British India* (Berkeley: 1997), *Languages and Nations: The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras* (Berkeley: 2006) and Thomas R. Trautmann, (ed.), *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India* (New Delhi: 2009).

86 Abbé Dubois, *Description of the Character, Manners and Customs of the People of India, and of Their Institutions, Religious and Civil* (London: 1816).

87 Dhruv Raina, "Evolving Perspectives on Science and History: A Chronicle of Modern India's Scientific Enchantment and Disenchantment (1850–1980)," *Social Epistemology: A Journal of Knowledge, Culture and Policy* 11/ 1 (1997), 3–24. See also Raina on Le Gentil's "planned silence about his Jesuit sources". Dhruv Raina, *Nationalism, Institutional Science and the Politics of Representation: Ancient Indian Astronomy and Mathematics in the Landscape of French Enlightenment Historiography* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Göteborgs Universitet, 1999), 100.

French interested in trade and in survival in their precarious coastal settlements rather than advancing Christianity, the missionary activities, worthy of the name, moved to another camp—to the Protestants. Better funded, using new technologies such as the printing press and generally considered more "modern", they took over the missionary torch and, not without tension and hostility, blended their goals into British imperial project. The first Protestant missions thrived among the Catholic converts. The first Protestant missionaries, the Pietists in Tranquebar (all German) sent by the Danish king, admitted to the fact. However, but as everybody else, they did their best to efface the traces of the earlier missionary efforts and in the long run contributed to the black legend of Catholic missionary presence in South Asia.[88]

9.7 Historiographical Renewal

Writing histories of their own missions has been one of the tools of missionary activity throughout the early modern and contemporary period. Besides continuous Catholic apologetic historiography and Protestant counter attacks in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Indian Jesuit missions received important scholarly attention by Jesuit scholars working around the mid-twentieth century. Georg Otto Schurhammer (1882–1971) and Josef Wicki (1904–1993), both of whom participated with other Jesuit historians in the general internal historiographical renewal, focused on collecting, editing and publishing original documents. While in their work they set the highest standards of the discipline, their critical editions of original archives opened Jesuit history to non-Jesuit historians. Schurhammer's biography of Francis Xavier is still the only biography in which (almost) every single piece of evidence concerning the life and writings of the saint are properly referenced.[89] Most of his other articles scattered in various journals and books had been collected in his *Gesammelte Studien*.[90] His publications include topics related to all Asia and to the Portuguese empire in the early modern period.

88 Protestant missions have received a much larger scholarly attention. For a basic introduction to the scholarly field, see Judith M. Brown and Robert Eric Frykenberg, eds., *Christians Cultural Interactions, and Indians' Religious Traditions* (London: 2002).

89 Georg Schurhammer, S.J. *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, trans. Joseph Costelloe, vol. 2: *India* (1541–1545) (Rome: 1977).

90 Georg Schurhammer, *Gesammelte Studien,* II–IV. *Herausgegeben zum 80. Geburtstag des Verfassers,* (ed.) László Szilas, S.J. (Rome and Lisbon: 1963).

If in his historical works he expressed some opinions that sound dogmatic or "politically incorrect" and provided a narrative that was clearly apologetic, his volumes of edited sources are still extremely useful. Such are for example the *Die Zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens* (1932) and *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta* (1944–45) co-edited with Josef Wicki.[91] Josef Wicki's name is well known to every historian of Indian Jesuit and church history in the early modern period because he was the editor of the eighteen-volume *Documenta Indica* published as part of the collection of *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* (MHSI). These volumes were published within the span of forty years between 1948 to 1988 and covered the period between 1540 to 1597. Each volume contains up to hundred pages of introduction, bibliography, detailed archival and prosopographical notes, as well as a detailed index.[92] Wicki was editor of all major Jesuit unpublished historical texts from the 16th century such as those of Sebastião Gonçalves, Diogo Gonçalves, and Alessandro Valignano in addition to other documents and treatises.[93]

A number of historians such a Charles Boxer (1904–2000), an erudite interested in Portuguese empire, used and edited Jesuit sources and those of other religious orders. The reason missionary history in general and Indian missionary history in particular attracted historians in the more recent period has something to do with the interest in global interactions, transnational corporations, postcolonial critique, interdisciplinary approaches with anthropology and literature blending into historiography, and the rise of the social history of science. Jesuit early modern documents, accessible in quite well preserved series (such as collections of letters) were recognized in the 1980s as a mine for testing hypotheses and for tracking global flows of people, objects, and ideas.

With different goals in mind, historians were attracted to Jesuit intelligence, experience, and ingenuity. Dhruv Raina came from history of science and

91 *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta* (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1944–45).

92 Volume 14 and 15 were co-edited with John Gomes and from that time onwards the language of editorial apparatus and footnotes change from Latin to English.

93 *O livro do "pai dos cristãos,"* (ed.) Joseph Wicki (Lisbon: 1969); *Missionskirche im Orient: Ausgewählte Beiträge über Portugiesisch-Asien* (Immensee: 1976); *Die Schrift des P. Gonçalo Fernandes S.J. über die Brahmanen und Dharma-Sastra* (*Madura 1616*) (Münster: Aschendorff: 1957); Alessandro Valignano, *Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias orientales*(*1542–64*) (Rome: 1944); *Tratado do P.e Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso sobre o hinduismo* (*Maduré, 1616*) (Lisbon: 1973).

discovered Jesuit astronomy in India and in Paris.[94] Historians such as Joan Pau Rubiés, Danna Agmon, Giuseppe Marcocci, Ricardo Ventura, and Will Sweetman all studied missionary sources for their different projects concerning intellectual history, history of the French colonialism, history of the Inquisition and Portuguese empire, and history of Protestant missions.[95]

Works by social and cultural historians such as Adone Agnolin, Paolo Aranha, Sabina Pavone, Ines G. Županov, Ângela Barreto Xavier centered on Catholic missions as places of epistemological experiments and cultural encounters.[96] Partly inspired by microhistory and partly employing the tools from their subdisciplines such as literary history (of Marathi and Tamil respectively) Ananya Chakravarti and Margherita Trento are both in the process of reclaiming Indian voices and narratives from the Jesuit sources.

In the last couple of decades, the interest in Jesuit history grew exponentially, to a point where complaints were heard about omissions of other missionary orders. This gap has been slowly bridged by authors focusing on Franciscans, Oratorians and Discalced Carmelites.[97] The reason for Jesuit historiographical success had been twofold: first, their longstanding concern with preserving archives chronicling their activity; and secondly, opening their archives to non-Jesuit scholars. All other missionary orders have yet to follow Jesuit lead. Only well preserved, widely and "democratically" accessible (and now digitalized) archives in European and Indian languages can and will contribute to another phase in historiographical revival.

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94 Dhruv Raina, "Problematic Comparisons: Jesuit Savants in 17th- and 18th-Century India and China," in *L'Inde des Lumières: Discours, histoire, savoirs* (*XVIe–XIXe s.*) / *Indian Enlightenment: Between Orientalism and Social Sciences* (*XVII–XIX Centuries*), (eds.) Marie Fourcade and Ines G. Županov (Paris: 2013), 335–58.

95 See also their articles in Amaladass and Županov, *Intercultural Encounter*.

96 Paolo Aranha, "The Social and Physical Spaces of the Malabar Rites Controversy," in *Space and Conversion in Global Perspective*, (eds.) Giuseppe Marcocci, Wietse de Boer, Aliocha Maldavsky and Ilaria Pavan (Leiden: 2014), 214–33. Sabina Pavone, "Inquisizione romana e riti malabarici: Una controversia," in *A dieci anni dall'appertura dell'Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede: Storia e archivi dell'Inquisizione* (Rome: 2011); 145–61. Adone Agnolin, "Destino e vontade, religião e política: Companhia de Jesus e ilustração na disputa póstuma dos ritos do Malabar," *História unisinos* 13, no. 3 (2009): 211–32 (doi: 10.4013/htu.2009.133.01). Ananya Chakravarti, "The Many Faces of Baltazar da Costa: *Imitatio* and *accommodatio* in the Seventeenth-Century Madurai Mission," *Etnográfica* 18, no. 1 (2014): 135–58. Margherita Trento, "Śivadharma or Bonifacio? Behind the Scenes of the Madurai Mission Controversy (1608–1619)," in *The Rites Controversies in the Early Modern World*, (eds.) Županov and Fabre, forthcoming from Brill.

97 For further information see, Xavier and Županov, *Catholic Orientalism*, and more recent published and forthcoming articles by the same authors.

CHAPTER 10

Missions in Vietnam

Tara Alberts

10.1 Introduction

Throughout the 17th century Đại Việt (Vietnam) was described by European Catholic commentators as the most fertile mission-field in the world.

Missionaries maintained that God had shown extraordinary favour to the infant Christianities of Đàng Ngoài (known to Europeans as Tonkin) and the southern polity of Đàng Trong (Cochinchina).[1] It was clear, they insisted, that he had chosen these realms to re-establish the primitive Church: there were rapid conversions at every level of society; innumerable miracles performed by neophytes; and martyrs whose blood hallowed the ground. In a popular account of the Cochinchina mission published in France in 1652, for example, Jesuit Alexandre du Rhodes celebrated 'the abundant crop, with which it has pleased the master of this great harvest to bless the labours of his workers.'[2] In these two years alone, Rhodes reported, between eight to ten thousand people had converted, and 'the old Christians live with a sanctity so accomplished in the purity and perfection of the Gospels that it seems that the Golden Age of the primitive church is reborn and blossoms once again in their lives.'[3] These missions were also strategically significant. There was a sense that once these

1 The region was first officially named Đại Việt ('Great Viet') during the reign of the Lý Thán Tông (1054–72) and the term was used in our period during the reign of the Lê dynasty emperors. Europeans referred to the region using a variety of toponyms, such as Annam (from the Chinese term meaning 'the Pacified South'), Tonkin (from Đông Kinh—'The Eastern Capital'—referring to Hanoi), Cochinchina (from Kuchi—the Malay name for the region). Through the place names they used and the labels they gave to political and social systems, early visitors to and commentators on the region frequently ascribed a unity to these polities and a hegemony within them which bore little relation to reality. Yet the imprecision of terms used by Europeans, and the variation between authors of their application hinted at the complexity and fluidity of the situation on the ground. On the tangled history of these place names see Nguyễn Tấn Hùng, *Le Viêt Nam du XVIIe Siècle. Un tableau socioculturel* (Paris: 2011), 11–12.

2 Rhodes, Alexandre de, *Relation des Progrez de la Foy av royavme de la Cochinchine vers les derniers qvartiers dv levant.* (Paris: 1652), 2.

3 Ibid., 2.

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realms inevitably fell to the Church's spiritual conquest, neighbouring polities including the Chinese empire, would soon follow.

The complex political situation in Vietnam of the mid-16th century was one of the most important factors facilitating the establishment of the first early modern missions. In 1527 the Lê dynasty—rulers of Đại Việt since 1428—had been toppled by royal bodyguard Mạc Đăng Dung, who declared himself emperor. Members of the noble Nguyễn and Trịnh families united in opposition to this usurpation and made war on the Mạc family. They crowned a surviving member of the Lê dynasty as emperor, and eventually, in 1592, re-took the 'eastern capital' of Hanoi and pushed Mạc forces back to the far north eastern provinces of Cao Bằng. At the same time, relations between the Nguyễn and Trịnh families deteriorated. Nguyễn Hoàng (1525–1613) entrenched his control of the southern province of Quảng Nam, and began to push further south (into what is now south-central Vietnam), expanding this territory at the expense of the Cham peoples. This region came to be known as Cochinchina by Europeans. The Trịnh continued to battle the Mạc and consolidate their territory in the north ('Tonkin') and retained control over the figurehead Lê emperor.[4]

Distrust between the two families came to a head in the 1620s when Nguyễn Phúc Nguyên (r.1613–35) refused to send tribute to the Trịnh-controlled court in the north. This declaration of independence led to almost fifty years of war (1627–73). Following a Chinese-brokered agreement to end hostilities a long period of peace followed, with each noble family governing their lands under the nominal rule of the figure-head Lê emperor. In the 1770s hostilities broke out again, as new challengers—the Tây Sơn brothers—launched a successful revolt to challenge Nguyễn rule in the south, and eventually to rule the whole of Vietnam (1778–1802).[5] Both the century of peace before, and the period of reform during Tây Sơn rule would pose new challenges to missionaries.

Political disorder and change led indirectly to an increasing commercial and social dynamism in both regions. The two courts both came to see the advantages of opening up to foreigners as a source of trade, revenue, weaponry, and expertise. However, foreign trade, political influence, and cultural exchange could be destabilising, and needed careful management, especially in uncertain times of war. The rulers of each region therefore hedged between tolerating missionary presence—in the hope that this would promote trade

4 For an overview of this period of Vietnamese history see Keith W. Taylor, *A History of the Vietnamese* (Cambridge: 2013), 237–318

5 See George Dutton, *The Tây Sơn Uprising* (Honolulu: 2006), especially 173–89.

with the Portuguese in Macao and Malacca—and periodically banning the religion and expelling or prosecuting its practitioners.

Various Buddhist, Confucian and Islamic movements of reform, renewal, and proselytization also made inroads in our period. Foreign and local scholars and preachers found they could make their mark on the complex patchwork of beliefs found in the region, where Confucian, Buddhist and Daoist traditions overlaid a rich and varied culture of spirit veneration. However, while Vietnamese rulers claimed no jurisdiction over the spiritual lives of their subjects, increasingly authorities in each realm sought to regularize, centralize and reform these varied practices to minimize potential social disruption. Loci of spiritual powers in the villages would have to be co-opted by regional rulers or to be neutralized. There were tensions between regularising, reforming forces such as the ministry of rites (*lễ bộ*) in Tonkin or Nguyễn -sponsored movements of Buddhist renewal in Cochinchina, and a popular clamour for spiritual innovation and novelty.[6] Missionaries and their converts would have to navigate between the opportunities presented by the variety and autonomy of belief and practice at the village level, and the regularizing impulses of centralizing powers.

Catholic evangelism in the region began in earnest in the second half of the 16th century as small numbers of Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians travelled from Portuguese Malacca and Macao and from Spanish Manila. From the beginning there were some tensions over ecclesiastical jurisdiction: the Portuguese were keen to restrict access by Spanish clerics.[7] Missions became well established and increasingly famous in Europe in the early 17th century, as missionaries from the Society of Jesus, drawn from a wide range of national backgrounds, operating under the Portuguese *Padroado*, re-focused their attention from their stricken missions in Japan and began to disseminate reports of their successes in Vietnam.

At first the Vietnamese missions remained strongly associated with the Japanese missions. These had been severely damaged at the beginning of the

6 See for example Olga Dror, *Cult, Culture and Authority. Princess Liễu Hạnh in Vietnamese History* (Honolulu: 2007); Thien Do, *Vietnamese Supernaturalism. Views from the Southern Region* (London: 2003), 3–4; Philippe Langlet, *La Tradition vietnamienne: un état national au sein de la civilisation chinoise d'après la traduction des trente-troisième et trente-quatrième chapitres du Khâm định Việt sử Thông giám cương mục. Texte et commentaire formant le miroir complet de l'histoire viet, établi par ordre impérial* 2 Vol. (Saigon: 1970), vol. 1: 71–3.

7 These jurisdictional issues are covered in detail in my *Conflict and Conversion. Catholicism in Southeast Asia 1500–1700* (Cambridge: 2013), 17–46.

17th century when a series of imperial edicts had banned the practice of the faith and ordered the expulsion of proselytizers. A number of Japanese Christians relocated to port-cities around Southeast Asia, often settling in communities with whom they had existing trading links, such as Hội An ('Faifo') in Cochinchina.[8] The first Jesuits who arrived in Cochinchina, including two Japanese members of the order, Saito Paulo and brother Tsuchimochi José, were following this exodus. They would minister to the resident Japanese communities, and attempt to continue with the evangelization of Japan by converting visiting Japanese merchants. Pêro Marques, superior of the Cochinchinese mission celebrated the conversion of twenty four Japanese men in 1621, for example. They had come to Cochinchina to trade, he wrote, but instead 'acquired the precious stone of the faith in the water of holy baptism, returning to their land rich and content to have such a good haul, hitherto unequalled.'[9]

Faifo, the Jesuits hoped, would thus become a new focal point of *Japanese* Christian devotion. The Annual Letter of 1618 from Cochinchina, for example, described how a group of visiting Japanese merchants organized themselves into a confraternity under the protection of Nossa Senhora de Bom Viagem, patron of the Faifo church, and swore their continued fealty to her wherever they may travel.[10] Established Japanese Christians provided essential material and practical support in these early days. When Jesuits Giuliano Baldinotte and José Montanha arrived in Tonkin in 1626 they were provided with suitable lodging due to the intervention of Ursula, a Japanese woman who was married to a Tonkinese man and who was 'an intimate of the king and the interpreter for the Japanese'.[11] There was also a sense of a mystical connection between the Vietnamese and Japanese missions. The Jesuits had been brought to Cochinchina, one account put it, because of their trials, and, 'the mission of Cochinchina is the first-born daughter, we thus say, of Japan, from which she

8 The Jesuit Annual Letter from Macao asserted that there were 1000 Japanese Christians in Faifo alone by 1619. Biblioteca Ajuda, Lisbon (hereafter BA), Jesuítas na Ásia (hereafter JA) 49-V-7, 'Annua do Collegio de Macao', f. 168v. On Hội An and trade see Charles Wheeler, 'One Region, Two Histories. Cham Precedents in the History of the Hội An Region', in Nhung Tuyet Tran and Anthony Reid (eds.), *Việt Nam. Borderless Histories* (Madison, 2006), 163–93.

9 Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, (hereafter ARSI) JapSin 71, Pedro Marques, 'Annua da Cochinchina', Macao 31 August 1621, f. 31r.

10 ARSI JapSin 71, Rodrigues Giram, 'Annua de Cochinchina de 1618' Macao 20 December 1620, ff. 6r-v.

11 BA JA, 49-V-6, Giuliano Baldinotte and José Montanha, 'Breve rellação da viagem que fizemos desde Macao até Tunquim, e de sua tornada', 1626, ff. 338–9r.

has inherited troubles and persecutions, and martyrdoms, in which she shows herself to be very similar to, and alike her mother.'[12]

The Vietnamese Jesuit missions were also administratively and intellectually linked to their missions in China. Books, personnel, and methodologies were transferred from the latter and clergy and auxiliary staff were educated at the Jesuit College in Macao. Works such as Matteo Ricci's *T'ien-chu Shih-i* ('The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven'), printed for the Chinese missions, were imported to impress the Vietnamese literati who were well versed in the Confucian classics and receptive to scholarly works in Chinese.[13] Through these links and movements of personnel there emerged a corps of individuals who had knowledge and personal experience of the three mission fields. Evangelic techniques trialled in one local could be imported, honed, and adapted for use in new fields. For example, the system of *dojukus*—young men trained in catechesis and sworn to the mission used in Japan—was replicated and adapted in the Vietnamese missions through a three-tiered system of vowed Catechists.[14] However, the local context and local recruits were equally important in reshaping these systems. As Nguyễn Tấn Hùng points out, while the structured system of catechists living together in 'houses of God' (*Domus Dei*) or 'communal houses' (*Nhà Chung*)in Tonkin may have borrowed from Japanese models, it developed as an institution original to and characteristic of the Vietnamese missions.[15]

A sense of this distinctiveness and of the independent promise of the Vietnamese missions soon emerged in Jesuit writing. In the 1650s, best-selling printed accounts of the Jesuit missions in Cochinchina and Tonkin written by du Rhodes helped to inspire the foundation of a new French missionary institute, the Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris (MEP). Rhodes' lobbying in Rome for more personnel, and for the establishment of a seminary in Vietnam

12 BA JA, 49-V-15, f. 229r.

13 On the influence of Ricci on the Vietnamese missions see Peter C. Phan, *Mission and Catechesis. Alexandre Rhodes and Inculturation in Seventeenth-century Vietnam* (Maryknoll NY: 1998), 116–22.

14 A number of Japanese Dojuku arrived with the first Jesuits in Cochinchina in 1615. J. Ruiz-de-Medina, 'Vietnam' in Charles E., O'Neill,and Joaquin M[a] Domínguez (eds.), *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús. Bibliográfico-temático* (Rome: 2001), Vol IV: 3953–3968 (3953).

15 Nguyễn Tấn Hùng, *Le Viêt Nam,* 178. See also Trần Văn Toàn, "Un aspect confucéen dans la formation du clergé vietnamien," in *Les cadres locaux et les ministères consacrés dans les jeunes Eglises, Actes de la XVe session du CREDIC à Louvain-la-Neuve* (Lyon: 1995), 165–183.

to train 'native' clergy, inadvertently brought to an end Jesuit domination of the mission-field. The Papal Congregation of Propaganda Fide ordained members of the new French society as bishops and Vicars Apostolic, endowed with unprecedented authority to oversee these missions and to ordain 'native' priests.[16]

With the arrival of these new French priests in Vietnam in the 1660s came a period of reform and re-assessment. They organized a number of synods to discuss the state of the Vietnamese church; reorganized local ecclesiastical hierarchies; issued parochial letters ordering the reform of certain ritual practices; and began to select suitable Vietnamese candidates for ordination. The first Vietnamese priests were ordained in 1670, and further candidates were selected to be sent for training at the MEP seminary in Ayutthaya, Siam (modern-day Thailand).[17] The MEP also sought assistance from Spanish Dominicans, who they recruited in Manila to work in eastern Tonkin. Tensions rose as the newcomers critiqued the practices and techniques of their predecessors, and vice versa.

The presence of missionaries from so many different religious orders, national backgrounds, and ecclesiastical and colonial jurisdictions led to a number of conflicts over operational authority, evangelical methodology, and acceptable beliefs and practices for missionaries and converts. Europeans from different backgrounds sometimes expressed visceral distaste for each other's versions of Catholic orthodoxy and orthopraxis. The stakes were high on these promising mission fields, thus the conflicts could be protracted and vicious.

It is therefore unsurprising that the Vietnamese missions had an important place in the early modern Catholic imagination. This has perhaps been forgotten today, due to the greater interest in the Chinese, Japanese, and Indian missions in modern historiography. This chapter will therefore first examine the place of Vietnam in European fantasy, literature, and historiography, considering the rich textual and other sources available to historians and proposing a fresh perspective on the forgotten role of the region in the European imaginary. It will then move on to explore the practical measures and compromises adopted by missionaries to establish a presence in the region, arguing for the

16 A detailed study is found in Henri Chappoulie, *Aux origines d'une église. Rome et les missions d'Indochine au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: 1943). See also my *Conflict and Conversion,* 34–46.

17 See especially Marillier, André, *Nos Pères dans la foi: notes sur le clergé catholic du Tonkin de 1666–1765* (Paris: 1995), 3 vols, and my 'Priests of a Foreign God. Catholic Religious Leadership and Sacral Authority in Seventeenth-century Tonkin and Cochinchina' in Tara Alberts and D.R.M. Irving (eds.), *Intercultural Exchange in Southeast Asia* (London: 2013), 84–117; and George Dutton, *A Vietnamese Moses. Philiphê Binh and Geographies of Early Modern Catholicism* (Oakland PA: 2017).

wider importance of the distinctive development of Vietnamese Catholicism in the early modern period.

Covering the period of missionary activity in Tonkin and Cochinchina from the late 16th to late 18th centuries, this chapter analyses conflicts over these developments and demonstrates how these controversies have repercussions for the history and historiography of Catholicism up to the present day. The perceived promise of the region, and subsequent conflicts over jurisdiction and practice, generated extensive correspondence and commentary. As we will see, the missions of Vietnam were fertile fields for the growth of new forms of Catholic practice and belief, and new ideas about religious identity. And they remain promising terrains for researchers, with rich and varied source material available, which is only just beginning to be fully exploited.

10.2 Forgotten Histories and Fantasies

For the earliest days of Christianity in the region, the extant sources are limited: a frustration shared by modern historians and early modern missionaries. If Christianity reached Vietnam with ancient or medieval travelers, it left very little trace in the historical record.[18] Early modern missionaries were fascinated by the possibility of a forgotten history of Christianity in the region. They were keen to uncover evidence—physical or perhaps spiritual—that they were following in the footsteps of Christians of the early Church.

In 1634, for example, around nine years after an ancient Christian monument had been discovered in China, the Jesuit *Annua* for Cochinchina reported that a similar discovery had been made in Quy Nhơn (known to Europeans as Pulocambi). It described how the father of a Christian family had been praying for a sign, promising that he would always keep the law if God heard his entreaty. Soon thereafter, excavations during building works uncovered 'a coin of extraordinary greatness and antiquity, embossed on one side with Chinese letters and the name of the king of that age, on the other with nothing other than a Cross—well formed, like the work of one who knew this divine symbol

18 Medieval accounts of the region include a mention in the travels of Marco Polo, and a brief description by Friar Oderic de Pordenone, who mentions visiting 'Ziamba' (Champa) in the 13th century. Both accounts were published by Giovanni Battista Ramusio in the mid 16th century, see Ramusio, *Second Volume delle Navigationi et Viaggi raccolto gia da M. Gio. Battista Ramvsio et hora in qvesta nvova editione accrescivto* (Venice: 1583); Oderic's description of 'Zampa' is translated in Henry Yule (trans. and ed.), *Cathay and the Way Thither. Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China* vol. 1 (London: 1866), 95–7.

well. All the Christians who saw it recognized it as such, as did the Father who held it in his hand.'[19]

When the Jesuits in 'Cacham' (Kẻ Chợ, that is, modern-day Hà Nội) informed their flocks of this discovery, they were told that in that province, too, similar coins had been found, which led the missionaries to conclude that it was certain that knowledge of the cross had reached Vietnam in the early days of the church. While the presence of early Christians in China had been proved beyond all doubt by the discovery of the stone marked with the cross, the *Annua* continues, the evidence in Cochinchina and Tonkin pointed to a yet deeper, instinctive appreciation of the symbol. 'As for Tonkin and Cochinchina, this seems clear, due to the extensive use that is made by the pagans of this sign: putting it as a device on some containers, and on the wrists and heads of children as a defense against illnesses and disasters, even though they can't explain the reason why they do this.'[20] Such traces of ancient Christian missions to the region were used to suggest both an inherent receptiveness to the faith, and a community of endeavour and practice between the Jesuit missionaries and their predecessors in the primitive Church.

Traces of the first early modern European Catholic missionary contacts with Tonkin and Cochinchina prior to the arrival of the Jesuits are also relatively faint. Scattered references in Vietnamese sources and by later missionaries suggest that a lone priest visited and preached in several villages in 1533. The Imperial Chronicle 'The Complete Mirror of Vietnamese History' (*Khâm định Việt sử thông giám cương mục*) compiled between 1856–84, quotes 'private histories' (*dã lục*)—that is, as opposed to the official chronicles—to report that in 1533 Y-nê-xu, a 'Westerner', 'came secretly […] to preach clandestinely the false doctrine of Gia-tô [Jesus]'.[21] There are some indications that other secular priests from Malacca and Macao, perhaps serving as ships' chaplains or personal confessors to merchants, spent some time preaching in the region in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. It is also possible that Vietnamese merchants converted to Christianity in Macao and brought the faith home with them.[22]

19 ARSI JapSin 71, ff. 118v–9r.

20 Ibid.,f, 119r. Alexandre de Rhodes made a similar observation in his *Divers voyages*, 83.

21 Langlet, *La tradition vietnamienne,* 102. Langlet suggests that the script could possibly, although improbably, read 'Japanese' instead of 'Westerner'. See his gloss in ft. 3. 'Gia-tô' is the Vietnamese pronunciation of the Chinese characters used to write 'Yésu' (Jesus). See ibid., ft. 5.

22 Jacques, Roland, *De Castro Marim à Faïfo: Naissance et développement du padroado portugais d'Orient des origines à 1659* (Lisbon: 1999).

Yet there is little evidence to shed light on the activities of these independent evangelists beyond the hearsay of later Jesuit histories.[23]

The missions of the mendicant orders (the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians), which reached the region from the 1580s, are somewhat better documented. News of these missions began to reach European audiences through various published accounts, for example, Marcello de Ribadeneyra's *Historia* of Franciscan adventures, which described his order's mission to Cochinchina.[24]

However, compared to the voluminous correspondence produced—and more importantly preserved and often published—by the Jesuits who followed in the first decades of the 17th century, surviving documentation relating to these mendicant missions is relatively sparse, with a limited number of chronicle accounts and selected, scattered correspondence preserved in colonial and religious archives.[25] This has often resulted in these early endeavors being overlooked or downplayed in the historiography: historians have often concurred with later Jesuit sources, which were dismissive or contemptuous of mendicant predecessors. While missionaries were keen to hunt for and celebrate survivals from ancient missions, they could be equally keen to minimize the more recent achievements of their rivals.

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23 For example a Jesuit narrative from the 1640s recounted the presence of 'some clerics from Malacca' there in the first decade of the 17th century, noting that all that was known of them was that one of them returned travelled to Macao in 1610, 'leaving this people totally bereft of anyone to preach them the faith.' ARSI JapSin 70a (II), f. 2v. See also Cristoforo Borri, *Relatione della nvova missione delli PP. della Compagnia di Giesv, al regno della Cocincina* (Rome: 1631), 103–4 on the 'chaplains' who went to Cochinchina from Malacca, Macao and Manila.

24 This drew on reports relayed by Bartolomé Ruiz, who had been on mission in the country in the 1580s. Marcello de Ribadeneyra, *Historia de las Islas del Archipiélago Filipino y Reinos de la Gran China* (Barcelona: 1601), 156–9. Other accounts of the Franciscan missions in the region are found in Juan de Santa Maria, *La Chronica de la Provincia de San Joseph* (Madrid: 1615), and Jacinto de Deus, *Vergel de plantas, e flores da Provincia da Madre de Deos dos Capuchos Reformados* (Lisbon: 1690).

25 The major archival repositories which hold substantial amounts of material pertinent to these mendicant missions are the Arquivos Nacionais Torre do Tombo (Lisbon), Archivio Storico della Congregazione de Propaganda Fide (Vatican City), Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Rome), Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Vatican City), Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon), and the Archives of the Univeristy of Santo Tomas (Manila). For a detailed account of this varied documentation and an account of other smaller repositories see Alberts, Tara, 'Conflict and Conversion on the Southeast Asian Catholic Missions', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Carmbridge, 2010: 29–40.

For much of the 16th and early 17th century, then, information in circulation about Cochinchina and Tonkin was fairly limited, although there was an increasing commercial and evangelical interest in the region, especially amongst the Portuguese based in Macao. In turn this excited curiosity in Europe.[26] The informational gap was filled at the beginning of the 17th century by a fantastical story of apostolic adventure which captivated audiences first in Spain then further afield and which provides an insight into the conversion of Vietnam in the early modern European imagination.

10.2.1 *The 'Clérigo Agradecido'*

From 1614, a series of autobiographical books and plays appeared, written or commissioned by Pedro Ordóñez de Cevallos (c1555/7-c1634/5).[27] There is very little contemporary evidence for his travels and claims aside from these writings.[28] If even a small proportion of his life was faithfully recounted it would have been a remarkable one, which saw him turn his hand to a wide range of professions, visit all four known continents, and become involved in a number of significant events. He boasted, for example, of his service to Juan de Cardona, commander of the vanguard at the Battle of Lepanto (1571), and to revered king Sebastião I of Portugal on his final, myth-making voyage to Africa (1578). He described going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, trafficking slaves and merchandise across the Atlantic, fighting as a soldier and making his fortune as a merchant and adventurer across the Americas. Finally he recounted how he took holy orders, finding a new incarnation as a secular priest and launching a mission to Asia on his own initiative.[29] From here his narration retained its braggadocio, but also adopted many common tropes of popular published missionary narratives. Modestly comparing himself to St Thomas, he described

26 For an overview of published early modern European sources on Vietnam see Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. van Kley, *Asia in the making of Europe.* Especially *vol. III: A Century of Advance*. Book III: Southeast Asia (Chicago: 1993), 1248–1299.

27 These were *Quarenta Triunfos de la Santísima Cruz de Christo N.S. y Maestro* (Madrid, 1614); *Viage del Mundo* (Madrid: 1614); *Tratado de las Relaciones verdaderos de los Reynos de la China, Cochinchina y Champaa* (Jaén: 1628); *Segunda Parte de la famosa comedia del Español entre todas las naciones, y clergo agraciado.*(Jaén: 1629).

28 A succinct overview of his life and works is given by Raúl Machón Gómez in the *Diccionario Biográfico Español*, ed. Icíar Gómez Hidalgo et al (Madrid: 2009), vol. 38: 648–50. See also Martín, Fernando Escribano, 'El Viaje del Mundo de Pedro Ordóñez de Cevallos', *Arbor*, CLXXX (2005): 581–94.

29 This moment of ordination divides the *Viaje del mundo* into two. See 83v for his description of the nature of priesthood.

his adventures in Asia: equipping several ships he embarked with his faithful entourage, stopping off to spread the faith in the Marianas, the Philippines, and Macao, where he put the Portuguese to shame by converting dozens of Chinese people to Catholicism.[30]

The climax came during his stay in the kingdom of 'Cochinchina', where he encountered the 'Infanta Flora'—a crown princess and sister of the king—who, like so many women before, fell madly in love with him and proposed marriage. Crushed to discover that he was sworn to priestly celibacy, she gave herself to God, became a nun and founded a convent dedicated to the Immaculate Conception. Cebellos oversaw the destruction of the queen's 'idols', presided as the throne room of her natal palace was consecrated as a chapel, and officiated as the queen and 51 of her ladies took the veil. Her brother the king endowed the convent with a village, extensive lands and a mountain, to support the sizable Christian community, including many highborn members of the court and countless common people.[31]

Cevallos reported then baptizing the viceroy of the Southern province (that is, Nguyễn Hoàng) and his family, before being expelled from the kingdom, his life threatened by enemies of the faith who were jealous of his popularity.[32] Upon his return to Spain, he maintained a correspondence with the 'Abbess'—reproduced in his publications—which made him the sole conduit between this new, flourishing Christianity and the Church in Europe. This helped him to embark on yet another lucrative re-invention. Dabbling in a range of popular literary genres, he cast himself as a picaresque romantic hero, recounting his own exploits in travel narratives, a spiritual work, a mission account, a volume of local history about his hometown of Jaén, and a series of plays. The baptism of the queen of Cochinchina became central to his identity as *el clérigo agradecido* 'the grateful priest'—an evangelizer and romantic hero—and was represented on his personal insignia adorning his publications. His efforts were, he claimed, rewarded with various ecclesiastical benefices, including supposedly being named Vicar General of the missions in Cochinchina, Champa and Laos by Philip II, following the intervention of João de Piedad, bishop of Macao.

Cevallos' narrative is interesting for several reasons. First, the publication of this story in various iterations reflects the growing appetite for missionary tales

30 Cevallos, *Viage*, 95v–96r.

31 Cevallos, *Viage*, 237–40.

32 Cevallos, *Viage*, 95v–176v. Varied iterations of this account are found in the *Tratado* (see especially from 12), in the *Quarenta Triunfos*, and are retold dramatically in Act III of the *Segunda Parte de la famosa comedia.*

relating to Asia, and in particular to hitherto less well-known kingdoms such as Tonkin and Cochinchina. Cevallos was astute in his selection of popular genres for his publications. He was, arguably, equally canny in picking the region in which to set his key narrative.

Second, it suggests the limits of what was accepted as plausible in a missionary narrative. His story initially seemed credible to some of the missionaries who were to follow him to Cochinchina. It fit well into the traditions of the conversion narrative in which the spiritual conquest of a ruler, especially through the female members of the court, led to the flourishing of the faith within the kingdom. However, his successors swiftly realized that while some of his account may sound superficially believable, too many details of his narrative were unrealistic. Moreover, upon arrival they found no trace of any such community of Christians in Vietnam. In his own account of Cochinchina, for example, Jesuit Cristoforo Borri was scathing about the author of 'a certain book entitled *Viage del mundo* who dared to proclaim in Spain how he had catechized, and baptized the *Infanta* of Cochinchina with many of her ladies.'[33] Although the Jesuits had visited the court many times, 'the Infanta has never shown any sign neither of being Christian, nor of even knowing what a Christian is. And one can see how fantastically [*faualosamente*] he had talked, from the other fables [*fauole*] that are also in the same book, talking of the same Infanta: that she wanted to marry the Chaplain.'[34]

Cevallos' narrative was a fantasy, an imagining of how easy mission *should* be: heroic preaching would convince the ruling elites of the superiority of Christian beliefs, the people would follow with simple, loyal devotion, and European Catholic social and institutional structures would be imported wholesale. The mission would never be devilled by lack of funds, skepticism or apathy on the part of the target audience. There would be no jurisdictional quarrels: despite being a Spanish secular cleric with no apostolic authority, in his accounts Cevallos' faculty and right to evangelize is accepted without question by the two comically dim Portuguese missionaries he describes meeting in Cochinchina. 'Afonso de Acosta' and 'Juan Gonçalez de Sao,' supposedly despised by the queen for being dirty and uncouth, bow out to allow him to show them how it is done.[35] The Portuguese bishop of Macao similarly sees no

33 Borri, *Relatione,* 104.

34 Ibid., On Borri's gloss on Cevallos see also Dror and Taylor's translation of Borri's text, *Views of Seventeenth-century Vietnam: Christoforo Borri on* Cochinchina & Samuel Baron on Tonkin (Ithaca NY: 2006), 137–8.

35 Cevallos, *Viage,* 108r.

impediment to endowing this Spanish secular cleric with far-reaching apostolic authority over vast mission fields hitherto jealously guarded as part of the Portuguese *padroado*.

In subsequent accounts, especially in the context of increasing rivalries and controversies between different factions of missionaries and converts, assurances of verisimilitude became a constant refrain. Authors were keen to reassure their readers that they were not exaggerating, however wondrous their claims, conscious of the skepticism which some accounts had begun to engender. For contemporary audiences and for modern historians, determining the plausibility of authors' claims and distinguishing reality from rhetoric could be a complex task.

Cevallos' account had an interesting afterlife in the historiography of mission. Until the late 19th century, most accounts follow Borri in dismissing Cevallos' account as fantasy, if they mention him at all. However, at the end of the 19th century, Cevallos received renewed attention from some French scholars as his story was used to celebrate a new narrative—that of French imperialism.

Two driving interests inspired much French scholarship on Vietnam in the late 19th and early 20th century, which were to have a lasting impact on the study of Catholic missions in the region. First, from the beginning of the French military campaigns to seize territory in Cochinchina (1858–74), there was an increasing interest in studying the history and culture of the region, the better to colonize it. Some such scholarship also offered justifications for French imperialism, either directly celebrating the achievements of the French, or by indirectly depicting French archaeologists and historians as custodians of a past which would otherwise be neglected or destroyed.[36] In 1891 a royal decree ordered the foundation of an institution to end the 'humiliating' situation which saw France as falling behind other colonial powers which had their own learned societies to oversee such imperial scholarly endeavors. Scholarship produced by authors linked to the resultant École Française d'Extrême-Orient

36 See, e.g. Paulin Vial, *Nos premières années au Tonkin: récit des événements relatifs à l'occupation du Tonkin par les Français depuis 1873 jusqu'en avril 1887 suivi d'une description du pays et de renseignements divers sur sa population, sur ses ressources, sur son commerce etc* (Paris: 1889). On connections between scholarship and imperialism in the context of Vietnam, see Nhung Tuyet Tran, 'Introduction: the construction of Vietnamese historical identities' in Tran and Reid, *Việt Nam*, 3–22 (5–9); Wynn Wilcox, 'Introduction: the co-figuration of Vietnam and the West', in Wynn Wilcox (ed.), *Vietnam and the West. New Approaches* (Ithaca NY: 2010): 1–16 (6–9).

would continue to dominate the historiography of Vietnam into the mid-20th century.[37]

Secondly, members of French missionary societies and other devout Catholics were keen to promote the 'scientific' study of the history and culture of mission fields under French control as a means to facilitate modern evangelism. Studies such as those produced by MEP missionaries Léopold Cadière (1869–1955) and Adrien Launay (1853–1927), for example, came to set the agenda for many 20th-century Francophone scholars of Catholicism in the region.[38] In some such works, empire and the history of the missions were explicitly intertwined. 'Faced with the grave events for which the China Seas have become the theatre,' one 1858 anthology of earlier Jesuit accounts of Tonkin and Cochinchina began, 'we are driven to examine history, to demand of it advice about the lands where our France seems called to play a role—warlike or pacific, but always glorious.'[39]

The revival of interest in Cevallos was related to both of these concerns, as is neatly illustrated in a short history of Christianity in Tonkin by French businessman, writer, and devout Catholic, Frédéric Romanet de Caillaud.[40] Sold to raise funds to build a votive sanctuary to Notre Dame du Lourdes in Vietnam, the book attached an almost mystical significance to the rediscovery of the story of Cevallos and the 'Princess Flora', who Caillaud identified as 'Princess Mai Hoa', a sister of Emperor Lê Thế Tông (r. 1573–99).[41]

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37 Catherine Clémentin-Ojha and Pierre-Yves Manguin, *A Century in Asia. The French School in the Far East, 1898–2000* (Paris: 2001) especially 18–42; See also Laurent Dartigues, *L'orientalisme français en pays d'Annam, 1862–1939. Essai sur l'idée française du Viêt Nam* (Paris: 2005). An example of this scholarship is found in Charles-B. Maybon, *Histoire moderne du pays d'Annam (1592–1820)* (Paris: 1920).

38 On the influence of Cadière see Laurent Dartigues, *L'orientalisme français en pays d'Annam 1862–1939* (Paris: 2005), 122–3. On Launay see Ramsay, *Mandarins and Martyrs. The Church and the Nguyen Dynasty in Early Nineteenth-century, Vietnam* (Stanford: 2008) 3–4. See also Long S. Le, '"Colonial" and "Postcolonial" Views of Vietnam's Pre-history', *Sojourn*, 26 (2011): 128–48 (34–36).

39 *Mission de la Cochinchine et du Tonkin avec gravure et carte géographique*, vol. II of *Voyages et travaux des missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris: 1858).

40 Romanet de Caillaud, Frédéric, *Essai sur les origines du christianisme au Tonkin et dans les autres pays annamites* (Paris: 1915).

41 That is 'Princess Plum Blossom'. Caillaud; *Essai.* See also Anthony Do Huu Nghiem, 'Mai Hoa' in Scott W. Sunquist (ed.), *A Dictionary of Asian Christianity* (Cambridge: 2001), 509–10; and C. Poncet, 'La Princesse Marie d'Ordonez de Cevallos', *Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Hué*, 4 (1941): 351–9.

Caillaud's study had been composed over many years, he explained, and had been completed in the 1890s. But his labor had coincided with 'bad days' for France, as he termed them: the expulsion of religious orders; the separation of Church and state; and in the colonial sphere, the disaster of Lạng Sơn (1885), where the French army had been forced into an ignominious retreat by Chinese forces, bringing about the fall of the Jules Ferry government in France. His book, entrusted to an Augustinian press, had been lost when that order had been expelled. Then, when all seemed dark—for the Church, for the colonial venture in Southeast Asia, and for his book—the intervention of the Virgin resolved the situation.

Archaeological studies undertaken by French scholars had uncovered evidence of an ancient Christian village and a palatial structure near Hanoi in Vạn Lại Sách, Thanh Hóa Province.[42] This, Caillaud asserted, was clearly the remains of Cevallos' convent of the Immaculate Conception. A vow to restore the sanctuary was published, and on that same day, 4 April 1885, the Chinese accepted the French peace treaty, and 'since then, Tonkin has become, despite many missteps, one of the most beautiful French colonies.'[43] Now, in 1915, in the context of war with Germany, he urged his readers to fulfill the vow to the Immaculate Virgin—patron of France: 'to obtain from her that she conserves our colonies, let us erect for her the promised votive sanctuary at Vạn Lại Sách, on this spot on the soil of French Indochina where, under the name of the Immaculate Conception, she was publically invoked for the first time more than three hundred years ago.'[44] He also intended his account to inspire Vietnamese readers: like the Maccabees they should, he urged, honor the example of their ancestors by embracing Catholicism. Catholic devotion was thus re-cast as being an important and venerable *Vietnamese* tradition: conversion should almost be seen an act of filial piety towards those distant generations. The colonial conquest was re-imagined as divinely ordained and restorative of local Catholic traditions and the legitimate political order.

These two texts—the self-aggrandizing imaginings of Cevallos, and Caillaud's slight, unscholarly work of mystical imperialism—would soon retreat into the footnotes of scholarship on Catholicism in Vietnam. But the influence of their preoccupations lingered. Two themes—the link between mission and French colonialism, and the question of whether Catholic beliefs and

42 This is perhaps the village of Phúc Lập, Thanh Hóa.

43 Caillaud, 'Avertissement du lecteur', 19 June 1915, in *Essai,* IX.

44 Ibid., IX-X. Caillaud was also responsible for the construction in 1907 of a Grotto to Our Lady of Lourdes in Sudbury, Ontario, Canada, which he dedicated to Mary as 'Regina Gallorum'.

practices should be seen as 'foreign' and alien to Vietnamese culture and society—animated a wide range of scholarship.

The French invasion had been incited in no small part by political lobbying by missionaries, and had been justified on the grounds of 'protecting' Catholics in the country.[45] For both pro-imperialist and anti-colonialist scholars, this could influence interpretations of earlier periods, leading to re-castings of all missionaries as early foot soldiers of the French empire. Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes, for example, was celebrated in some quarters as a vanguard of French involvement in the region, and reviled by others for the same reasons.[46] Similarly, his contributions to the Romanization of the Vietnamese language were lionised on the one hand and condemned as a hostile act of cultural colonialism on the other.[47]

It is true that Christianity had been described as a foreign threat to political stability and social order in official edicts issued sporadically by the rulers of Tonkin and Cochinchina from the mid-17th century. Late 18th-century edicts issued by Trịnh, Nguyễn and Tây Sơn rulers emphasized the foreignness of the faith, the disloyalty of its adherents, and its incompatibility with Vietnamese culture and customs.[48] The depiction of Christianity as a foreign innovation was repeated in early anti-colonialist rhetoric; and although later Vietnamese nationalists were keen to co-opt Catholic support by down-playing these concerns, the compatibility of Christianity with Vietnamese cultural values continues to be grounds for debate.[49]

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45 See Nola Cook, 'Early Nineteenth-century Vietnamese Catholics and Others in the Pages of the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies,* 35, (2004): 261–85 (264–9).

46 For depictions of the connections between these early missions and later imperialism see for example John Cady, *The Roots of French Imperialism in Eastern Asia* (1954), and Nicole-Dominique Lê, *Les Missions Étrangères et la pénétration française au Viêt-Nam* (Paris: 1975).

47 See Roland Jacques, 'Le Portugal et la Romanisation de la langue Vietnamienne', 24–6; c.f. John DeFrancis, *Colonialism and Language Policy in Vietnam* (The Hague: 1977). A similar story could be told about the historiographical fortunes of MEP bishop Pigneau de Béhaine. See James Daughton, 'Recasting Pigneau de Béhaine. Missionaries and the Politics of French Colonial History, 1894–1914', in Reid and Tran, *Việt Nam,* 290–322.

48 Dutton, *Tây Sơn,* 171–9.

49 See especially Philip Taylor, 'Modernity and Re-Enchantment in Post-Revolutionary Vietnam', in Philip Taylor (ed.), *Modernity and Re-enchantment. Religion in Post-revolutionary Vietnam* (Singapore: 2007), 1–56 (42–8); Tran and Reid, 'Introduction: the Construction of Vietnamese Historical Identities', in their *Việt Nam,* 3–22 (7–12).

However, as Nola Cook has argued, historians focusing mainly on official records such as edicts relating to Christianity risk 'privileging what was effectively a statist view'.[50] This can result in taking 'traditional Vietnamese Catholics at the worst estimate of their most trenchant critics and partisan enemies.'[51] Debates over the imperialist intent of early missionaries and the alterity of Catholicism in Vietnam often have the consequence of over-simplifying the situation in the early missions. Examining colonial and evangelical projects as separate, often connected but sometimes conflictual undertakings, has allowed a more nuanced understanding of some of these issues. Studies of the missions by Roland Jacques and Isabel Augusta Tavares Mourão for example, which draw on Portuguese sources, restore the context of Iberian mission in the region, and help to problematize the link between evangelism and colonialism.[52] From the late 20th century, the opening of archives belonging to religious societies including the Missions Étrangères allowed scholars to explore the complexity and variation of 17th-century Catholicism in the region and to demonstrate the active, leading role of Vietnamese Christians in translating, adapting and spreading the faith.[53] A much more complex picture emerges of

50 Nola Cook, 'Early Nineteenth-century Vietnamese Catholics', 262.

51 Ibid.

52 See especially Jacques, *De Castro Marim à Faïfo*; Roland Jacques, Rita F Uson, and Marguerite Uson, *Portuguese Pioneers of Vietnamese Linguistics Prior to 1650* (Bangkok: 2002); Isabel Augusta Tavares Mourão, *Portugueses em terras do Dai-Viêt* (*Cochinchina e Tun Kim*) *1615–1660* (Lisbon: 2005).

There are a few articles addressing the Franciscan missions (for example J. Ignacio Tellachea Idigoras, 'Expedition franciscana a Cochinchina y China. La relación inédita de Fray Diego de San José (1583)' *Archivo Iberoamericano,* 53 (1993): 449–87) but on the whole scholarship on Spanish involvement in Vietnam remains somewhat uneven. Marcos Gispert's *Historia de las Misiones Dominicas en Tungkín* (Ávila: 1928) and Auguste Bonifacy's *Les débuts du christianisme en Annam: de l'origine au commencement du XVIIIe s.* (Ha Noi: 1930) address the influence of Spanish missionaries in the region but are both rather unscholarly studies. In 2004 Roland Jacques lamented the continued influence of Caillaud 'insupportable' study of Cevallos on scholarship into early Iberian missions, blaming this work for the dogged persistence of a number of 'idiocies' (*sottises*) in the historiography 'even today'. Roland Jacques, 'Concernant le dictionnaire et le catéchisme d'Alexandre de Rhodes' in his *Les misisonnaires portugais et les débuts de l'Église catholique au Viêt-nam,* vol. 1 (Reichstett: 2004), 162–79 (176). On the Augustinian missions see my *Conflict and Conversion,* 30–1, 75–7.

53 See especially Alain Forest, *Les missionaires français au Tonkin et au Siam XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles. Analyse comparée d'un relatif succès et d'un total échec,* 3 vols (Paris: 1998) and Nola Cooke, 'Strange Brew: Global, Regional and Local Factors behind the 1690 Prohibition of Christian Practice in Nguyễn Cochinchina', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 39 (2008): 383–409.

how beliefs and practices could become 'indigenized' and incorporated into local belief systems. Careful case studies of the multifarious processes of religious adaptation and adoption in Vietnam help to challenge historiographical paradigms which see 'Western' or 'Vietnamese' cultures as homogenous and incommensurate, or which depict all forms of engagement within the binary framework of 'western impact' and 'indigenous response'.[54]

Early modern missionaries and their converts were often aware of these anxieties concerning the political consequences of missionary presence in the region, and the boundaries of locally acceptable behavior and belief. As we turn now to examine the realities and practicalities of establishing a mission and spreading the faith in Tonkin and Cochinchina, we will encounter early responses to these issues which have continued to animate scholarly discussion to the modern day.

10.3 Practicalities: Missionaries as Commercial and Military Agents

Missionary involvement with the ungodly spheres of high politics, militarism and commerce had a long history. As we will see, missionary engagement with these activities could be complicated, and driven by the situation on the ground, which could often push even unwilling missionaries to re-imagine their role within local contexts. Many missionaries credited divine compassion with opening the door to the missions in Cochinchina and Tonkin as consolation for the loss of Japan. A more prosaic explanation can be found in the interest of rulers in increasing their access to foreign trade, expertise, and weaponry.

Unsurprisingly, the emphasis in the Jesuit accounts is on winning over the rulers of each polity through demonstrations of erudition and skill to persuade them of the value of European intellectual systems and learning. As was the case in other courts in Asia, Jesuits were keen to use their knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, and curiosities such as clockwork, glass prisms, and lenses

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See also George Dutton, 'Crossing Oceans, Crossing Boundaries. The Remarkable Life of Philiphê Bỉnh (1749–1832)' in Tran and Reid, *Việt Nam*, 219–55, which is based on a study of Vietnamese priest Bỉnh's papers found in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

54 See especially Nola Cook 'Strange Brew'; Wilcox, 'Introduction', 12–13; Wynn Wilcox, 'Đặng Đức Tuấn and the complexities of Nineteenth-century Vietnamese Christian Identity', in Wilcox, *Vietnam and the West,* 71–87; Brian Ostrowski 'The rise of Christian Nôm Literature in Seventeenth-century Vietnam: Fusing European Content with Local Expression', in ibid., 19–39 (27–9).

to impress.[55] Even when Christianity fell out of favor, such useful knowledge could shield missionaries and provide a means to prolong their stay in the country. For example, in 1699 Juan Antonio de Arnedo wrote of his success in calculating the exact time of an eclipse of the sun, which the king's mathematicians had denied would happen. Arnedo was called to the palace to be awarded an annual pension and a post as a royal mathematician. He was able to use his position to protect his flock even outside the capital, he explained: 'various mandarins who persecuted the Holy Law excessively in the provinces were completely quietened by letters that I sent.'[56]

A number of Jesuits were able to maintain their foothold in the courts of Tonkin and Cochinchina by these means. Yet far more important was the assistance that the Jesuits could offer in establishing trade links with the Portuguese in Macao, and in facilitating access to European military technology. In many Jesuit accounts the link between trade and mission appears as a rather vague hope on the part of the ruler that if missionaries were allowed to establish themselves in the kingdom, it would somehow encourage Portuguese trade. The Jesuit *Annua* of 1650, for example, reported that there were some persecutions against Christians in the kingdom, and that the Jesuit Metello Saccano had been briefly detained, but that the ruler had intervened on their behalf. Saccano's arrest was 'due to an error by the Officers of Justice, because when the king saw that [Saccano] had been taken, he ordered his release, saying that he had not ordered the Father arrested as he was a Foreigner, and a Priest of the Portuguese, in whose commerce [the king] had great interest.'[57] Saccano was granted a laissez-passer to allow him to come and go and to remain in the kingdom along with the Portuguese merchants, but there is no sense in the account that he was expected personally to promote the king's commercial interests.

In other accounts, however, it is clear that the missionaries were expected to work actively to further the commercial interests of their hosts. In 1652, for example, the *Annua* reported that the major problem facing the Tonkin

55 See Barbara Widenor Maggs, 'Science, Mathematics and Reason: the Missionary Methods of the Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes in Seventeenth-century Vietnam', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 86 (2000): 439–458; Florence C. Hsia, 'Mathematical Martyrs, Mandarin Missionaries, and Apostolic Academicians: Telling Institutional Lives', in Anne Goldgar and Robert I. Frost (eds.), *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Society* (Leiden: 2004), 3–34; Alexei Volkov, 'Evangelization, Politics and Technology Transfer in 17th-century Cochinchina: the Case of João da Cruz', in Luís Saraiva (ed.), *History of Mathematical Sciences: Portugal and East Asia IV* (Singapore: 2013): 31–56.

56 ARSI 68 f. 108r-v. Joan Antonio de Arnedo to Francisco Noel, Sinoa, 4 July, 1699. 108r.

57 BA JA, 49-IV-61, 'Annua da Prouincia de Jappão do anno de 1650', 1r–12r (f. 7r).

mission was the reluctance of Macao merchants to trade in the country. Jesuit João Cabral therefore negotiated with Captain Vasco Barboza de Mello, agreeing that the Jesuits would use his ships to import their cargo. Moreover, he arranged a buyer ('one of the great mandarins of this kingdom') who would be open to trade in the future, to whom Cabral urged the captain to sell half his own merchandise.[58] The position of missionaries in Cochinchina was also to some extent dependant on their usefulness as commercial brokers. In the *Annua* of 1624, Visitor Gabriel de Matos reported that the ruler of Cochinchina had ordered the Jesuits to return to Macao 'given the non-arrival of the Portuguese ship, which is the only reason he suffered us in his lands.'[59] Juan Antonio de Arnedo was also pressed into service as a trade envoy. Following a successful voyage to Macao in 1712 to develop trade links on behalf of ruler Nguyễn Phúc Chu (r. 1691–1725), he was sent as a royal envoy to Lisbon to establish direct links between Cochinchina and Portugal, but died en route.[60]

Missionaries could also prove useful in facilitating access to European military technology and matériel. In Cochinchina, for example, the Jesuits formed a mutually beneficial relationship with a half-Portuguese cannon founder, João da Cruz. His origins are somewhat obscure. A contemporary Jesuit source describes him as hailing from the Philippines and learning his trade in Macao at the home of 'a Portuguese man who was very famous in India for his great and notable skill in the art of founding artillery.'[61] Da Cruz then travelled to Cambodia where he so impressed the king that he was made governor of a province. He was brought to Cochinchina following Nguyễn Phúc Tần's (r. 1648–87) invasion of Cambodia.[62]

To some extent this Jesuit narrative is supported by an account by João's son, Clemente, in a letter preserved in the Jesuit Archive in Rome. However, Clemente also adds a crucial extra detail concerning the role of the Jesuits in bringing his father to Cochinchina. At the time of the Cochinchinese invasion, Clemente reported, 'We could have passed very safely into the kingdom of Siam, as this was very close to the provinces where my Father lived, but father

58 BA, JA, 49-IV-61, João Cabral, 'Do Estado da Missão de Tunkim', Macao 30 November 1652, Macao, 155v.

59 ARSI JapSin 60, 'Annua da Missão de Cochinchina. Anno de 1624', f. 512v.

60 Wiki, J.W. 'Arnedo, Juan Antonio de', in Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín Mª Domínguez (eds.), *Diccionario histórico de la Compañia de Jesús. Biográfico-Temático, Vol 1: AA-Costa Rica* (Rome: 2001), 237.

61 BA JA, 49-V-15 Mathias da Maya, 'Annua da Provincia de Jappão 1665', Macao, 31 January 1666, f. 244r.

62 Ibid.

João Maria Leira of the Company of Jesus who was in this kingdom, told us that it would be of great service to Our Lord, to go to the Kingdom of Cochinchina, because this king was a great enemy of our Holy Law, but also highly esteemed artillery and greatly desired to have a founder in his kingdom.'[63]

There was, in fact, already a flourishing metal founding industry in Cochinchina, which operated with an interest and openness to new approaches and techniques used by foreign founders. There was a dynamic marketplace for expertise in cannon and artillery founding around early modern Southeast Asia; João's international career and mobility was by no means exceptional.[64] Encouraging or assisting João's move to Cochinchina provided missionaries with an important ally. 'Due to the esteem in which his Art was held at court', a Jesuit account has it, 'our Fathers will be able to stay in residence there, in his shadow.' João had been increasingly fearful in the past few years, the account continues, as the majority of Christians when questioned about where they were baptized, replied that it had occurred in his house at court, 'which greatly angered the king.' But since the king has need of his artillery, he let João be.[65]

Commercial and military matters continued to be crucial to the survival of the mission throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1660 French Jesuit Joseph Tissanier wrote to Pierre le Cazre, Assistant of the French Province of the Society, strongly condemning Portuguese superiors in Macao for neglecting the mission. 'The disorders are so great, and so without remedy, that all the missions of Japan and China are in danger of being lost … If we lose Tonkin, the superiors are the cause due to the little care they had to preserve this excellent mission.'[66] This lack of care was manifest in their failure to ensure frequent shipments of merchandise. Instead, Tissanier complained, the attention of the Portuguese was elsewhere. 'Our superiors took care to send great ships to Siam and Macassar, not to raise arms for God, but to traffic in Seculars. And for Tonkin they have shown so little zeal that despite a ship leaving Macao for this port, they sent us neither wine nor flour for Mass, nor anything for our upkeep, because another ship was due to leave later, which was miserably lost on the voyage.' He appealed to his correspondent to petition the Rector of the

63 ARSI JapSin vol. 68, Clemente da Cruz to the Pope, Cochinchina, 2 June 1685.

64 Boxer, Charles, 'Asian Potentates and European Artillery in the 16th-18th Centuries: a Footnote to Gibson-Hill', *JMBRAS*, XXXVIII (1966), 156–72; Volkov, 'Evangelization, Politics and Technology Transfer'.

65 ARSI JapSin 68, Clemente da Cruz to the Pope, Cochinchina, 2 June 1685.

66 ARSI JapSin 79, Tissanier to Pierre Le Cazre, Tonkin, 20 Nov. 1660, f. 151r.

Jesuit College in Bordeaux, that *he* might send them flour and wine, as 'we dare not hope for anything from the Portuguese.'[67] Tissanier strongly disapproved of direct clerical involvement in trade, and would later co-author a strident tract urging missionaries to eschew such worldly concerns.[68] Yet he too recognized that without frequent shipping, the missions were lost.

Jesuit involvement in trade and other worldly matters was roundly condemned by the French priests of the Missions Étrangères when they arrived in Vietnam in the 1660s. Yet despite this criticism, some MEP missionaries also saw the value of such strategies. English traveler William Dampier wrote of his encounter with a French missionary that they did not live openly as clergy but rather 'lived here under the notion of Merchants'.[69] To facilitate travel they became skilled in repairing clocks, watches, and mathematical instruments. They obtained licenses to travel to 'Cachao' (Hà Nội) to ply this trade, spinning out jobs which should take around five or six hours to take 'twice as many days about, pretending great difficulty in the work; by which means they take their liberty, privately to teach their Disciples that live there'.[70] One of the priests asked Dampier to teach him how to make gunpowder—another marketable skill. The missionary had brought his own recipe from France but had not been able to make it work. Dampier obliged, showing him how to make a pound of powder, which greatly pleased the priest.[71] Unable to offer guarantees of increased trade with Portuguese Macao, the French priests did their best to offer alternative diplomatic and commercial alliances with the French king and the newly formed Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

Resting the mission on these foundations could leave it vulnerable if trade was disrupted, or if the political situation changed in the country. Operating in both Tonkin and Cochinchina—two polities at war—opened up opportunities but was also potentially extremely risky. In the midst of the disputes between the Missions Étrangères and the Jesuits in Tonkin for example, the former complained of plots by Jesuit partisans to have them expelled from the country by exposing them as missionaries who also had interests in Cochinchina. The Jesuits had threatened, they complained, to reveal that an embassy organized by the MEP 'was purely an embassy of religion and of

67 Ibid., 151r.

68 Transcribed and discussed in Henri Chappoulie, *Une controverse entre missionnaires à Siam au XVIIème siècle. Le Religiosus negociator de Jésuite J. Tissanier, suivi de quelques documents concernant le commerce des clercs* (Paris: 1943).

69 Dampier, William, *Voyages and descriptions Vol. II.* (London: 1705), 95.

70 Ibid., 96.

71 Ibid., 98.

priests, to attempt to have the Vicars Apostolic chased out of the kingdom.'[72] The MEP were reduced to the somewhat ironic position of having to demonstrate that their embassy was indeed a temporal rather than spiritual affair. They decided that it was not appropriate to present a letter they had from the Pope to the ruler of Tonkin 'because, as it only talks about religion and is not accompanied by any considerable present, aside from some devotional paintings, we thought with reason that it would not be well received, and could give rise to disadvantageous suspicions about the religion.'[73]

Anxieties about the intentions of missionaries were heightened by concerns that the new religion would prove to be a source of sedition, social disorder, and immorality.[74] Missionaries in Tonkin complained that following the accession of Trịnh Căn in 1682, it was very difficult to get a favorable settlement for Catholics in the kingdom as he was determined to 'find ways to prevent all cabals and secret groups which could cause revolts in the kingdom, as has always happened in the past during the change of reigns.'[75] With its late night meetings, strange rituals, and foreign authorities, it was not difficult for the enemies and rivals of its missionaries to depict the faith as a source of disorder. Important here was the broader context of ritual reforms, regularization and crackdowns on unorthodox teachings, which were undertaken in the period in both polities. Also important was the fact that the Trịnh-Nguyễn war had ended, which reduced the need for foreign trade and military technologies. In these circumstances the risks of permitting missionaries to remain in the kingdom could start to outweigh the benefits.

Allaying these fears would be important in times when missionaries were unable to rely on their utility as commercial or diplomatic mediators to weather political storms. As they found elsewhere in Asia, this could involve presenting the Christian faith in such a manner to avoid offending the sensibilities of ruling groups, and adapting some of its norms to accord better with local moral codes and mores.

Theoretical and practical disagreements over how best to contextualize the universal message of the Church were common the world over, as we can see from other essays in this volume. The myriad linguistic, methodological and

72 Archives de la Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris (hereafter AMEP), 665, 7.

73 AMEP, 665, 7–8.

74 On concerns about the role of foreign priests in economic exploitation and rapacity see especially Barbara Watson Andaya, 'Between Empires and Emporia: The Economics of Christianization in Early Modern Southeast Asia', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 53 (2010): 357–92.

75 AMEP, 665, 6.

pastoral controversies which flared on the Chinese and Indian missions also affected Vietnam. Here, the main disputes concerned the translation of key terms and concepts such as 'God', 'soul', the Trinity, into the vernacular, the translation of baptismal formula and elements of the liturgy, and the range of behaviors deemed permissible to converts.[76] While some of these controversies followed similar outlines to disputes on other mission fields, many missionaries were keen to delineate the differences between these issues in Vietnam and elsewhere. This raised interesting questions over whether a behavior which is deemed superstitious in one region could be deemed licit in another.

To explore this in the Vietnamese context, the remainder of this chapter will focus on one concept—filial piety—which was important in the contextualisation of Catholic theology and practice. Exploring the approaches missionaries took to this theme also raises comparisons and connections to other global missions explored in this volume. Through these issues we can glimpse some of the ways in which the conflicts which became known as the Terms and Rites Controversies in China and India played out in Vietnam.

10.4 Creating a "Vietnamese" Catholicism

Focusing on filial piety (*hiếu*) is useful as this was a common moral theme which cut across the variety of beliefs and practices in Vietnam. It was a fundamental virtue, which found its expression in both political theory and a range of long-standing customary practices.[77] In brief, the concept regulated familial relationships. Children must fully repay the debt owed to their parents (*trả nợ*) by caring for them body and soul: looking after them in their infirmity and caring for their spirits after death. Teachings of scholars from Buddhist, Daoist, and Confucian traditions laid emphasis on this obligation as a crucial moral quality. The concept was also codified in law: the penal code of the Lê dynasty (1428–1788) specified harsh punishments for those who disobeyed,

76 See my 'Catholic Written and Oral Cultures in Seventeenth-century Vietnam', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 16 (2012): 383–402.

77 See especially Joseph Nguyen Huy Lai, *La tradition religieuse, spirituelle et sociale au Vietnam,* 68*;* and Florence Nguyen-Rouault, 'Le culte des Ancetres dans la Famille Vietnamienne' *Hommes et Migrations*, 1232 (2001): 26–33. For an examination of filial piety and ancestor veneration in modern Vietnam see Kate Jellema, 'Everywhere Incense Burning: Remembering Ancestors in Đổi Mới Vietnam', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 38 (2007): 467–92; Philip -Taylor, *Goddess on the Rise. Pilgrimage and Popular Religion in Vietnam,* (Honolulu: 2004), 268–77, 299.

mistreated, or failed to support their parents, describing filial impiety (*bất hiếu*) as one of the ten heinous crimes (*thập ác*) for which most appeals for leniency would be denied.[78] The moral code issued in 1663 ordered that 'Children must be pious and respectful towards their parents' in life and death: 'In funeral ceremonies, they must conform exactly to the ritual prescriptions.'[79] The bereaved must continue to demonstrate the appropriate attitude of *thờ* (adoration, respect, veneration) towards their deceased parents and ancestors. Failing to observe strictly the correct ritual forms could lead to denunciations and, for officials, punitive demotions.[80]

However, expressions of filial piety should also be tempered by moderation. Hand-in-hand with a concern to promote correct moral conduct was a desire to root out excessive, uncontrolled spiritual practices. As 'The Complete Mirror of Viet History', summarizes, the 1663 moral code also warned that, 'Men and women must not become sorcerers or diviners, or dedicate themselves to false doctrines [*tả đạo*]. Families in mourning must not celebrate Trungnguyên [a festival in which prayers are said and sacrifices made for souls] in an exaggerated manner.'[81]

Catholic missionaries would have to tread carefully. On the one hand, some Jesuit criticisms of the 'excessive expense' lavished on funerals and ceremonies such as the death anniversary banquets—which they saw as being 'as useless as they are frivolous, [but] which cannot be done away with due to their common usage'—chimed with attempts by Vietnamese reformers to regulate ritual behavior.[82] However, to many of these Vietnamese reformers, Christianity itself was a false doctrine (*tả đạo*), animated by the very same impulse towards unseemly spiritual exuberance and ritual malpractice, and feeding off

78 See *Lê Code: Law in Traditional Vietnam. A Comparative Sino-Vietnamese Legal Study with Historical-Juridical Analysis and Annotations*, 3 vols (London: 1987) vol. I, 109 (Article 2) and vol, III, 353. See also David W. Haines, 'Reflections of Kinship and Society under Vietnam's Lê Dynasty', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 15 (1984): 307–14 (311–2).

79 Deloustal, R., 'La justice dans l'ancien Annam, traduction et commentaire du Code des Lê (suite): Livre II, 1ère partie. Règlements sur les fonctions publiques (suite)', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 10 (1910), 10, 24.

80 See for example K.W. Taylor, 'Literati Revival in Seventeenth-century Vietnam', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies,* 18 (1987): 1–23 (17), which relates the case of an official in the Censorate denounced by a local official for not observing proper mourning rites.

81 Langlet, *La tradition Vietnamienne*, 98–9. As Langlet points out, the 'false doctrines' could refer to Christian ideas and practices or many other practices, perhaps connected to Buddhist or Daoist beliefs, which were 'escaping the control of the ministry of Rites.' Idem, 98 ft. 5. See also his commentary: 70–2.

82 Rhodes, Alexandre de, *Histoire du royaume de Tunquin* (Lyon: 1651), 89.

ignorance. In the same year as the Vietnamese moral code was re-published, an edict re-iterating a previous ban on Christianity was issued which labored this point. Barbarian foreigners had 'led ignorant people into error through the false doctrine of Gia-tô,' it warned. 'They have won the trust and affection of numerous rustic men and women; they have established churches and charmed more and more people. These men have already been expelled, but the vulgar people have not yet changed the bad habits they have picked up, hence this new interdiction.'[83]

Moreover, there were worrying rumors that Catholic teachings denied the importance of *hiếu* altogether and that missionaries were encouraging their followers to forget their obligations to their families. A Jesuit account of persecutions against Christians in the 1620s in Cochinchina reported that while the failure of the Macao ship to arrive had sparked some animosity, this was a mere pretext. Many enemies were simply emboldened by these circumstances to air their long-standing concerns about Catholic morality. 'The adherents of the pagodas and our greatest enemies oppose us, saying we do not honor our deceased fathers and mothers and that we teach to natives of this land that they should not perform the honors which are commonly undertaken in this country.'[84] The Jesuits had agreed, he continues, that certain rites which were not superstitious could be practiced, but the Christians' enemies were alleging that, 'Our Holy Law does not permit them to honor their deceased fathers and mothers, and it has gone so far that they have written various songs to the discredit of our Holy Law, which they sing publically, even before the king.'[85]

The principal of *hiếu* also governed broader social relationships beyond those between children and their parents. This was recognized in the entry for 'hiéu, tháo' (*hiếu, thờ*) in Alexandre de Rhodes' Vietnamese dictionary, which translated it in Portuguese and Latin as, 'to respect/honor as father, mother, superiors' (*respeitar como pay may: honorare, vt patrem, matrem, superiores*).[86] Morality demanded the performance of a pious respect and veneration (*thờ*) towards social superiors such as teachers, governors, and the king; including those already deceased, such as heroes of the nation, past kings, and ancestors. Jesuit missionaries recognized that Christians could be accused not only of impiety and disrespect to their parents, but of sedition if they failed to demonstrate these moral virtues.

83 Cited in Langlet, *La tradition Vietnamienne,* 100.

84 ARSI JapSin 68, f. 39r.

85 Ibid., 39r.

86 Rhodes, Alexandre de, *Dictionarivm Annnamaticvm* [sic] *Lvsitanvm, et Latinvm ope Sacræ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide* (Rome: 1651), 324.

First, then, there was a clear need to avoid offending these deeply rooted moral sentiments by an incautious presentation of Christian ideas. One of the radical expressions of submission to Christ in the Gospels, for example, turns on a shocking, subversive description of putting God above all else: 'If any man come to me and hate not his father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple,' Jesus warned in Luke's Gospel. Similarly in Matthew he declares, 'I am come to set man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother … He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me …'.[87] Such concepts could certainly be deemed unsuitable for those new to the faith.

Instead, Jesuits relied on their Vietnamese catechists and converts to help to develop a Christology which reflected concepts of filial piety, emphasizing Christ's devotion to his own parents. As Brian Ostrowski has demonstrated, this was reflected in the *Nôm* works produced by Jesuits and their catechists. For example in his 'Vietnamized' stories of Jesus, Girolamo Maiorica introduced a number of apocryphal conversations in which Jesus addressed Mary using the familial *me/con* (mother/child) form of address, which could be seen as emphasizing Jesus' own love towards his mother.[88] He also described Jesus as paying his debt to his parents after the crucifixion, rescuing Joseph from limbo and appearing first to his mother before any other, revealing mysteries of the faith to her.[89] It is perhaps significant, given the comparatively elevated status of women in many contexts in Vietnamese society, and the subsequent centrality of women to the spread and maintenance of the faith, that such attempts to incorporate concepts of filial piety lay equal emphasis on mothers.[90]

Local concepts and moral sentiments also shaped explanations of the nature and worship due to God in catechisms, devotional songs, and prayers. The doctrine of the Three Fathers (*Ba Cha*), found in the catechism published by Alexandre de Rhodes, for example, connected the *latria* due to the 'Supreme Father' (God) to the devotion due to the two other 'grades of superiors or

87 Luke 14.26; Matthew: 10:35, 37.

88 Ostrowski, Brian, 'The Nôm Works of Geronimo Maiorica, S.J. (1589–1656) and their Christology', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Cornell University, 2006, 147.

89 Ibid., 163–4, 171.

90 On women in Vietnam see Ta Van Tai, 'The Status of Women in Traditional Vietnam: A Comparison of the Codes of the Le Dynasty (1428–1788) with the Chinese Codes', *Journal of Asian History*, 15 (1981): 97–145; Nhung Tuyet Tran, 'Vietnamese Women at the Crossroads: Gender and Society in Early Modern Đại Việt', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2004; and my chapter 'Catholic Women', in *Conflict and Conversion.*

fathers who require commensurate veneration and reverence from us': the lower 'father'—our parents—and the middle father, the king.[91] *Hiếu* is due towards one's parents: 'those who fail to show them respect and obedience are guilty of serious sin.'[92] To the king is due honor from all who live in the kingdom and 'whoever joins the cause of the rebel deserves great punishment.'[93] Just as these pieties are integral to Vietnamese moral sentiments, so too is the love of God, the catechism explains. Devotion to the Supreme Father is implicit in the 'Chinese books' studied by the regions' moral philosophers: 'in the books both of Confucius and of others, there is expressly prescribed the worship of the Supreme Ruler.' Moreover, even for the unlettered, 'there is indeed in our hearts a light by which we know, as we should, that there is this supreme Father.'[94] Conversion therefore did not preclude fulfilling one's filial duties but rather could provide new possibilities, the better to repay one's debt of gratitude to parents and ruler.[95]

Second, missionaries had to assess how far existing ceremonies used to express *hiếu* could be adapted and 'Christianized'. As was the case in China, among the main issues were the practices of keeping an ancestral tablet to memorialize deceased relatives, and performing rites to honor their memory. The ceremonies of respect towards rulers and acts of filial piety permitted to converts became the focus of bitter disputes between various missionaries. As Trần Văn Toàn points out, this could come down to a question of translation. Should *thờ* be understood to mean something akin to adoration or veneration? If understood in these terms, *thờ* would be due only to God and the ceremonies designed to pay respect to ancestors and other figures should be deemed superstitious.[96]

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91 Rhodes, 'Catechismus', in Phan, *Mission and Catechesis,* 220. Phan draws a connection to a similar theme in Ricci's *True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (see ft. 26). See also Trần Văn Toàn., "La doctrine des 'trois pères': Un effort d'inculturation du christianisme au Vietnam," *Mission*, 9 (2002), 89–104.

92 Rhodes, 'Catechismus', 220 Rhodes emphasized that the minor father also included one's mother, and expanded on the piety due to her.

93 Ibid., 221.

94 Ibid., 221. We see here how Caillaud's invocation of Maccabees to assert that Christian devotion was filial and respectful of past generations had a long history on the missions.

95 On the development of this doctrine see England et al., *Asian Christian Theologies: A Research Guide to Authors, Movements, Sources: vol. 2 Southeast Asia* (Maryknoll: 2003): 563–6; Trần Văn Toàn., "La doctrine des 'trois pères'," 97–101.

96 Trần Văn Toàn. 'A Breath of Atheism in Religious Vietnam', *Social Compass* 57.3 (2010): 311–318 (316).

Some early Jesuits, including Alexandre de Rhodes, argued that upon conversion Christians should abandon many of these ceremonies. He praised the sentiment which moved the Vietnamese to honor the memory of their parents in feasts and celebrations. Indeed, 'this should shame Christians, who are less conscientious in fulfilling these duties of piety and charity towards the souls of the dead.'[97] In his Catechism Rhodes also used the custom of preparing death-anniversary feasts as proof that the Vietnamese had an innate, divinely-gifted knowledge of the immortality of the soul.[98] However, he condemned the trappings of these funerals and memorial ceremonies, especially the practices of bowing to ancestral tablets, preparing lavish feasts, and the burning of paper offerings for the dead. The Jesuits in Tonkin, he explained, had found much reason to 'rail against their superstitions in public, and to mock this ridiculous custom that they have to send their parents paper robes, which even impoverished derelicts would not want to use.'[99] In the Catechism neophytes were cautioned that 'the Vietnamese err grievously when they offer meals to the souls of the dead. Our souls are too noble to use this sort of food. In so doing, the Vietnamese gravely offend their parents, even more gravely than if they were to feed their living parents, when they come to visit, with hay or other animal feed.'[100] New ceremonies, including requiem masses, works of charity, and prayer cycles would be taught to converts to discharge their filial duties.[101]

It is clear that many converts felt that they were able to fulfill their filial obligations after conversion. The large number of converts suggests that many people saw no difficulty in assimilating Christian concepts into their spiritual and moral world-view. However, many converts also encountered resistance and anger from their families and communities because of perceived failures of filial duty. The *Annua* of 1621 from Cochinchina recounted two such cases. The first was a recent convert whose father died shortly after his baptism. As the eldest son responsibility for 'superstitious' funerary rites including preparing a feast fell to him. He refused to perform any ceremonies despite the best efforts of relatives to persuade him. He told them that 'if the king of Cochinchina himself ordered me under pain of death to perform them, I would rather offer my chest to the blade than falter in the loyalty I owe to the Lord of Heaven.'[102] The second, a young Christian woman, was repudiated by her husband for her

97 Rhodes, *Histoire du royaume du Tonkin,* 89.

98 Rhodes, 'Catechismus', 245.

99 Rhodes, *Histoire du royaume du Tonkin,* 90. See also Phan, *Mission,* 93–6.

100 Rhodes, 'Catechismus', 255.

101 Phan, *Mission,* 95–6.

102 ARSI JapSin 71, Pero Marques, 'Annua da Cochinchina', Macao 31 August 1621., f. 40r.

refusal to prostrate herself (*fazer zumbaya*) to honor her husband's deceased parents. The *Annua* praised her for suffering this patiently, and eventually winning back her husband whom she persuaded to convert.[103] The author of this account clearly condones the refusal of these converts to participate in these gestures. Not all Jesuits had the same response to such practices, however.

Rather than replacing or abolishing gestures of filial piety some Jesuits favored merely re-interpreting them. Describing funerary and death-anniversary feasts amongst his converts in Tonkin, Tissanier wrote that:

> On the death of their fathers and mothers, Christians keep these ceremonies but they get rid of the superstitions that Pagans customarily mix into their funerals. Pagans prepare tables covered with various meats, and invite the souls to the table to eat. Christians also prepare their tables, in order to express their gratitude towards those who gave them life, and the goods that they enjoyed, but they refrain from inviting the souls to eat.[104]

Making converts give up these ceremonies completely risked making Christianity odious to the population, he warned. Some nobles, for example, had been persuaded 'that the Fathers preached a doctrine contrary to the honor due to the dead, saying publically that our law was too barbarous to be followed by the people. But having seen that the Christians maintained towards their dead parents the same respect they bore them during their life, they ceased persecuting the Faithful and began to praise and love the law of the Gospel.'[105] Retaining the external ceremonies and changing only the converts' understanding of the spiritual content had allowed the faith to flourish. Indeed, it seemed clear from the organization of these rites that they not religious in nature, some Jesuits argued, meaning that they could be retained by converts. The *Annua* of 1657 from Tonkin used a description of the funeral of Trịnh Tráng (r. 1623–57) to make this point. Ceremonies of devotion and honor were under the oversight of 'the Ministers, not the superstitious Bonzes [Buddhist clergy], but the Literati men of politics [*os Letrados politicos*].'[106] Their meaning was civil, and thus they could be readily and easily adapted by Christians.

The boundaries between licit and illicit behavior, then, could be a point of contention amongst missionaries. In the face of this uncertainty, it is

103 Ibid., ff. 40r-v.

104 Joseph Tissanier, *Relation dv voyage dv Ioseph Tissanier de la Compagnie de Iesus* (Paris: 1663), 169.

105 Tissanier, *Relation*, 170.

106 BA JA, 49-IV-61, 'Principião as noticias do Anno de 1655.' (1657) f. 413r.

unsurprising that some Christians hedged their bets when it came to rituals associated with expressions of filial piety. This is clear from the number of cautionary tales in missionary accounts connected to 'superstitious' rites. One common narrative saw Christians decide to take part in funerary or commemorative rituals, only to be struck down with a serious illness or death. The *Annua* from Tonkin in 1648, for example, related the punishment meted out to two young Christians who attended a 'pagan' obsequy. God decided to allow the fall of these two young men, the report explains, to prevent the fall of all.[107] In the course of the ceremony one began to sing, but then lost his voice. His friend tried to pick up the song, but collapsed as though dead. His parents prayed that he be returned to life 'if for no other reason that he might repent his error.' The prayer was granted, whereupon all the Christians present decided to abandon the 'superstitious funeral'.[108]

While there was some tension within the Society of Jesus about the propriety of declaring such ceremonies to be licit for converts, the most vociferous objections usually came from the mendicant orders.[109] Writing to the Propaganda Fide from the Philippines in 1651, the Dominican Vittorio Ricci followed his account of China with a warning that the Jesuits tending the fertile mission field of Cochinchina were reluctant to permit any other missionary order to enter. Commenting on Jesuit strategies of permitting converts to 'worship' their ancestors, he warned that it was absolutely necessary to ensure that the Jesuits 'are not alone in any part, especially on the missions, so that the problems we see in China do not ensue.'[110] Their reluctance to allow other missionaries into the Vietnamese missions was because they were permitting superstitious practices, which they knew would provoke revulsion in other religious orders.

MEP missionaries who arrived in the 1660s were keen to assess the legitimacy of converts' ritual practices. However, many were also keen to avoid dragging the Rites Controversies into these missions. Missionaries in Tonkin, for example, wrote with equanimity about the feasts celebrated by their converts to honor their converts. 'Prayers are said for the dead … then the people present are invited to eat that which is prepared according to the custom that is observed when prayers for the dead are said.'[111]

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107 ARSI JapSin, 65, 'Ragguaglio della Missione del Giappone', f. 56r.

108 Ibid., f. 56v.

109 On these tensions in Vietnam see Frédéric Mantienne, *Pierre Pigneaux. Évêque d'Adran et mandarin de Cochinchine* (*1741–1799*) (Paris: 2012), 179–91.

110 Archivo Storico da Propaganda Fide (Vatican City), SOCG 193, Vittorio Ricci to PF, Philippines, 22 June 1651 (copy), f. 15v.

111 MEP Annales from 1707, cited by Marillier, *Nos Pères,* vol. I: 97.

Attitudes towards these practices hardened in the 18th century. In 1715 the papal bull *Ex Illa die* banned Chinese Christians from performing these contested rites. In the aftermath, the Christians of the Confraternity of Nossa Senora do Socorro of Cochinchina wrote to the MEP bishop Francisco Perez seeking clarification on how the ruling would affect the Vietnamese missions.[112] The Christians list a range of eleven ceremonies specifically required by the laws and mores of the country, especially connected to oaths of fealty; and to the provision of food and other materials for funerals, memorial feast days and days of veneration of ancestors and illustrious figures of the country's past.[113] Were these ceremonies still licit? The Christians preface their enquiry with a clear indication of their own interpretation of these rituals. 'Christians perform their ceremonies in one manner, and Pagans in another', they wrote, and in the past, missionaries had been careful to strike a balance, 'because if the Holy Law accommodates itself in every possible way with the customs and laws of the kingdom, then there is peace and tranquility in the keeping of the Law.'[114]

Many missionaries continued to defend these practices in Tonkin and Cochinchina despite the tide of theological opinion in Rome turning against them. French MEP bishop Pierre Pigneaux, for example, saw the condemnation of rites in honor of ancestors and Confucius as symptomatic of an increasing prejudice against non-European Christians. The Instruction issued by the Propaganda Fide concerning rites to honor ancestors, he wryly suggested, must be understood merely 'as a counsel of prudence, in order to distance them as much as possible from all that could be superstitious. If we took it otherwise, we would be going absolutely against the constant custom of the first centuries of the Church. What would missionaries do? Whence did they take the majority of our ceremonies? Were they not pagan customs which they sanctified in giving them to God?'[115] Reading between the lines of other missionaries' texts we can often glimpse continued sympathy for these practices. For example, Olga Dror has suggested in her study of Discalced Augustinian Adriano de Sancta Thecla's study of Tonkinese and Chinese religions, that his sensitive appraisal and analysis of spirit worship prompts us to

112 ARSI Fondo Gesuitico, Titulus VIII, n. 722, 'Proposta dos Christãos de N. Snr do Socorro', ff. 71r-v. This is a translation from a (lost) original in 'Letras Cocinsinicas'.

113 Ibid., f. 71v.

114 Ibid., f. 71r.

115 Pigneaux to Mgr de Coradra, Vicar Apostolic, Nha Trang, 15 April, 1799 Cited by Mantienne, *Pierre Pigneaux.*, 202.

conjecture that 'he was inclined toward the unorthodox position in the Rites Controversy.'[116]

It is unsurprising that early modern missionaries and their converts were so divided on these questions of rites. Indeed, the nature and meaning of these practices is still disputed in Vietnam, with disagreements over whether such acts are merely civil acts bearing witness to filial piety and gratitude to the memory of parents and ancestors, or 'a religion properly called, which prescribes sacrifices and offerings, in order for descendants to obtain their solicitude and assistance.'[117] While the Propaganda Fide's 1939 instruction *Plane compertum* declared Chinese rites to be non-religious in nature and permissible to Christians, this was not applied to the Vietnamese context until 1964.[118]

10.5 Conclusion

This chapter has pointed to a number of areas in which further research could enrich our understanding of the development of Christianity in Vietnam, and by extension, of global Catholicism. We have seen how mapping the connections and cleavages between the Japanese, Chinese, and Vietnamese mission fields, for example, complicates our sense of the development of missionary methodologies and local liturgical practices. Given the interrelation of the three missions, what was the impact of the Vietnamese missions on the two other Christianities? Scholars working on theological and catechistical literature produced for and on each mission field in local languages may be able to provide new insights into intellectual and cultural exchanges between them, moving beyond a model which assumes the primacy of the Chinese missions. Further work on the economic and social strategies of missionaries and Catholic converts will help to illuminate the new communities and wide-reaching networks of association created in Vietnam. The ways in which varied communities of exiles and converts organized themselves, and funded and managed their priests and sacred spaces, would help to reveal how the missions were sustained during times of persecution. Finally, research which helps to

116 Dror, Olga, 'Translator's Introduction', to Adriano di St Thecla, *Opusculum de Sectis apud Sinensis et Tunkinenses* (Ithaqca NY, 2002), 27.

117 Nguyen Huy Lai, *La tradition religieuse*, 69. See also Nguyen Thanh Huyen, "The Cult of Ancestors: A Typical Characteristic of the Vietnamese People's Psychic Life." *Special Issue: The Cult of Ancestors-Familial Problems. Vietnamese Studies* 43 (1994).

118 Phan, Peter C., and Violet James, 'Vietnam', in Sunquist (ed.), *A Dictionary of Asian Christianity,* 876–880 (877).

uncover the debates and compromises adopted in the development of new forms of Catholic piety will reveal how concepts of orthodoxy and orthopraxis are created, contested and deconstructed.

In this last area especially, the wider importance of the Vietnamese missions becomes clear. Disputes over orthodoxy were the central intellectual impetus for the development of systematic methodologies to analyze and to categorize religious experience. Sancta Thecla's *Opusculum,* for example, could be seen as a response to debates over the nature of various rites encountered on the Asian missions, and over the nature of various spiritual beliefs, which attempted to draw boundaries and borders between the different 'religions' practised. Rival heuristics for determining whether ceremonies were 'religious', 'civil', 'cultural' or 'customary' forced missionaries and their converts to grapple with complex questions about religious belief and practice.

In this way, battles waged on distant mission fields could often have significant implications for the broader development of Catholicism. The turbulence of the mission fields and attempts to calm these storms and to win debates had—and arguably continues to have—a major impact on the development of Catholicism as a global faith. We should remember that despite the rhetoric of some missionaries, this was not a story of a passive, infant church carried along by eddies of reform and storms of controversy generated in Europe. Rather we must recognize the active role of converts such as those in Vietnam in re-configuring the faith in the early modern period, and (re)defining the boundaries of orthodoxy.

CHAPTER 11

The Christian Missions in Japan in the Early Modern Period

M. Antoni J. Ucerler, S.J.

11.1 Introduction: Portugal's Encounter with Japan

Of the many enterprises that were launched during the European Age of Discoveries and global maritime expansion and exploration in the 16th century, the missionary enterprises in East Asia occupied a place of prominence; and Japan, in particular, was destined to excite the imagination of western Christendom. Following the Portuguese establishment of colonial outposts in Goa in 1510 and Malacca in 1511, they set their eyes on developing trade with the Ming Empire. Three decades later, during one of their voyages in the South China Sea a storm blew one of their smaller vessels off course and carried the helpless mariners in 1543 to make landfall at Tanegashima, a small island in Japan just off the southern coast of Kyushu. It was here that the Portuguese first encountered the Japanese. They soon discovered that in firearms they possessed a great commodity and a very useful bargaining chip. Their introduction of guns would have a profound impact on the civil war that marked this period in the history of Japan.[1]

Having discovered the semi-mythical land that Marco Polo had referred to in his travel diaries as "Zipangu", the Portuguese lost no time in establishing a lucrative trade route as the middlemen between Macau and Nagasaki. They took advantage of their foothold on the Guangdong coast to exchange goods with Japan, which was barred from conducting any direct trade with China. One major factor that led the Middle Kingdom to bar Japanese junks from entering Chinese harbors were the constant raids along the coast carried out by Japanese pirates or *wakō*. The Chinese were particularly interested in Japanese silver, which was of very high quality, but they had very limited access to it. The Iwami Ginzan mine, located in present-day Shimane prefecture, had been established in 1526 and became one of the most important silver mines of

1 For a discussion of the introduction of firearms into Japan, see Olof G. Lidin, *Tanegashima. The Arrival of Europe in Japan* (Copenhagen: 2002).

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the early modern era. It was comparable to the Cerro Rico mine in Potosí in present-day Bolivia, which had been part of the viceroyalty of Peru and a major source of wealth for the Spanish empire. It was with their silver that the Japanese were able to meet their great demand for Chinese silks and other luxury goods. After having landed at several less than satisfactory ports along the coast of Kyushu, in 1571 the Portuguese finally chose the sleepy fishing village of Nagasaki, whose natural harbor provided safe anchorage for their ships. Little could they have imagined at the time that this location would continue to play an important role in international trade for centuries even after they had been expelled from Japan.

With the merchants also came the Jesuit missionaries, who hoped to preach the Christian faith to the native peoples. As most of Asia fell under the Portuguese sphere of "influence" of navigation and trade, all missionaries destined for the "East Indies" were obliged to travel on Portuguese ships and were subject to a new system of "Royal Patronage", or the *Padroado real*, regardless of their nationality. This arrangement, with its own set of specific laws, i.e. the *ius patronatus*, gave the kings of Portugal and Spain the right to appoint bishops and to take charge of ecclesiastical matters in newly established missions or dioceses in their respective kingdoms. Thus, John III (1502–1557) of Portugal considered it his sacred duty not only to profit from the overseas expansion of his country but also to propagate the Christian faith among non-believers. By 1534 a bishopric had been established in Goa. It would subsequently become an archbishopric and the Primatial See of the Portuguese *Padroado real* in the East Indies. This meant that smaller dioceses were dependent on its authority, and were known as "suffragan" dioceses. These would include Cochin (Kochi), Malacca, Macau, and also Funai, present-day Ōita City, in Kyushu.[2]

The Portuguese Franciscan, Frei Diogo de Borba (d. 1555) established the Seminary of the Holy Faith in Goa for the education of youth from both India and East Africa in 1541. It was first supported financially by a local lay confraternity. This would subsequently become the College of St. Paul and be entrusted to the Society of Jesus. It was at this college that generations of Jesuits in the 16th and 17th century, destined not only for India but also for the missions in China and Japan, would receive their training in philosophy and theology and would be ordained to the priesthood. Its goal was to form Jesuits in the same tradition of intellectual rigor as that of the College in Coimbra or the Roman College.

2 For a summary of the impact of this system on Japan, see Takase, Kōichirō, "Royal Patronage and the Propagation of Christianity in Japan," *Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture*, 22 (1972), 1–17.

11.2 Francis Xavier and Foundations

Among the members of the newly founded Society of Jesus, it would be Francis Xavier (1506–1552), a Navarrese nobleman and Master of the University of Paris, who would undertake missionary activities in Asia, beginning with India. He first worked in Goa with both the Portuguese and native populations. Following conversions further afield among the peoples of the Pearl Fishery Coast of Southern India, Xavier set off for Malaya and Indonesia. It was while he was in Malacca in 1547 that he met Yajirō (or Anjirō), a Japanese samurai who had killed a man in his native feudal domain of Satsuma, in southern Kyushu, and as a result had sought refuge abroad among the Portuguese. From Malacca the two men made their way to Goa, where Xavier baptized him with the name, Paul of the Holy Faith. In the spring of 1549 they returned to Malacca; and from there they continued their voyage to Kagoshima, where on August 15 Xavier first set eyes on Japan. His initial experiences, to use a modern phrase, amounted to intense "culture shock". Everything he saw was so different from what was familiar to him in India and South Asia that he struggled to make sense of it. In his oft-quoted letter from Japan, composed on November 5, 1549 and addressed to his fellow Jesuits in Goa, he describes the Japanese people as "the best that have as yet been discovered".[3]

He was particularly excited when he heard that the Japanese had "universities" just as in Europe, a reference to the Buddhist temple complex of Mount Kōya. He expressed a hope to be able to engage these monks in scholarly debate. A Master of the University of Paris, he was surprised that so far away from Europe he had found such a high level of learning. This was in marked contrast with his limited experiences among the poor fishermen of India and the coastal populations of the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian archipelago. The conclusions both he and other early Jesuits drew from this are significant. As they began to write reports, many of which were veritable ethnographic treatises, they would make clear distinctions about the "lack" of a higher culture among the peoples of South and Southeast Asia while praising the ancient civilizations of Japan and China. It was not until the 17th century that the Jesuits

3 For an English translation of the letter of Xavier to his companions in Goa (Kagoshima, 5 November 1549), see *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, ed. and trans. M. Joseph Costelloe, S. J. (St. Louis: 1992), 297. The definitive source of information on Xavier's exploits throughout Asia is Georg Schurhammer's *Francis Xavier. His Life and Times*, 4 vols (Rome: 1973–82). For a study of relevant contemporary sources, also see his earlier *Die zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens und seiner Nachbarländer zur Zeit des hl. Franz Xaver (1538–1552)*, Gesammelte Studien, I, Bibliotheca IHSI, 20 (Rome: 1962).

would make their way to the Mughal Court and marvel at its splendor, cultural refinement, and sophistication, with its beautiful artwork and religious debates among representatives of different religions.[4]

Yet not everything was going smoothly for Xavier in Japan. The country was in the midst of a civil war among the sixty-six feudal kingdoms or domains—a conflict that had begun in the mid-15th century and that would only come to a close after the establishment of the Edo shogunate under the Tokugawa clan in 1603. Xavier found it difficult to gain a foothold anywhere, as he needed the permission of the local lords to enter and reside in their territory let alone to begin preaching a foreign and unknown religious faith. These overwhelming challenges notwithstanding, he met with the powerful lord of Satsuma, Shimazu Takahisa (1514–71), while he was in Kagoshima. The following year, however, the lord issued an order that forbade conversions to the new faith. Xavier moved northwards and succeeded in founding a mission on the island of Hirado, near Nagasaki. This was located in the territory of the powerful warlord, Matsuura Takanobu (1529–99), who would be a constant thorn in the side of the missionaries and of the Portuguese merchants. Shortly thereafter, he made his way from Kyushu to Honshu and entered the domain of another powerful daimyo, Ōuchi Yoshitaka (1507–51), who resided in Yamaguchi. Initially spurned on account of his lowly appearance, Xavier decided to exchange his tattered priestly garb for that of an official ambassador of the Viceroy of India and present his credentials and gifts to the powerful lord. Ōuchi was duly impressed and granted him a place to stay so that he could preach his faith in Yamaguchi. But for someone who knew not a single word of the language, this was more easily hoped for than actually accomplished. The beginnings of the Christian mission during the time of Xavier and his companions, Juan Fernández (1526–67) and Cosme de Torres (1510–70), were emblematic of a process of trial and error. Subsequent generations of Jesuits who came to Japan learned a great deal from previous successes and failures and shaped the mission accordingly.

One important early setback was Xavier's attempt to have an audience with the "king of Japan". He set off for the capital or Miyako (Kyoto) in the hopes of gaining permission to preach Christianity throughout the country. Little did he realize at the time that the emperor had little power, Kyoto was in a state of decline and ruin in the midst of the "Warring States", and there was little incentive or inclination to receive a foreigner at court. More importantly, he also learned that the emperor did not actually rule Japan, unlike the emperor of

4 See Gauvin A. Bailey, "The Truth-Showing Mirror: Jesuit Catechism and the Arts in Mughal India," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773,* (ed.) John W. O'Malley, Gauvin A. Bailey, et al., (Toronto: 1999), 1, 380–401.

China. Traveling back to Kyushu, he succeeded nevertheless to gain the favor of a powerful daimyo on the eastern coast of the island, Ōtomo Yoshishige (1530–87), lord of Bungo and Buzen. He received Xavier with great courtesy and became a Christian, but only after more than two decades after his first encounter with the Jesuit missionary. His initial motivation was to gauge how the missionaries might help him in gaining favor with the Portuguese traders. To this end he even arranged for emissaries to be dispatched to Goa to confer with the colonial Governor of India.

In Ōtomo—for as long as he had power—the Jesuits would find one of their staunchest supporters. After he was eventually baptized in 1578 by Francisco Cabral (1533–1609), he came to be known as "Don Francisco", having adopted Xavier's Christian name. A highly educated man known for his refined artistic and literary tastes, Ōtomo would play a key role in how the Jesuits conceived their mission, not only in his kingdom but throughout Japan. It was in his domain that the Portuguese Jesuit brother, Luís d'Almeida (1525–83), organized the first Western-style hospital in 1557, and became the first physician to practice and teach European surgical procedures in Japan. This took place half a century before the arrival of the Dutch and the development of *Rangaku* or "Dutch learning" after the expulsion of the Portuguese.

The mission in Yamaguchi, on the other hand, was interrupted when Mōri Motonari (1497–1571) gained control of what had been the domain of the Ōuchi clan in 1557. For three decades thereafter until 1586, the Jesuits were not able to continue that mission, although several hundred Christians remained in the area. As Motonari was a fervent adherent of the Ikkō sect of Buddhism, he had no intention of allowing any missionaries to remain in his domains. Francisco Cabral did manage to visit the resident Christians briefly in 1573, but communications with that community were otherwise limited.

Perhaps the single most important and influential decision taken as a result of Xavier's work resulted from a major misunderstanding, namely the confusion that arose from his use of the word *Dainichi* in place of *Deus*. It was probably Yajirō who suggested that he use the word that referred to Vairocana, a primordial Buddha, to translate the Christian concept of God. This quickly put him in good stead with the adherents and monks of Shingon Buddhism whom he met in Yamaguchi. They were convinced that this man, who had come from "Tenjiku" (India), must be preaching to them a new interpretation of their own faith in *Dainichi nyorai*, whose magnificent statue had been worshipped in the ancient temple of Tōdai-ji in Nara ever since its completion in 752. To this day it remains the largest bronze representation of the Vairocana Buddha.

Aghast at the blunder they had committed, Xavier quickly adopted *Deusu*, a phonetic transliteration of the original Latin word for God, and engaged in a

debate while still in Yamaguchi with a number of prominent Buddhist monks, some of whom mockingly referred to *Deus* as *dai uso* or the "great lie"—a slight that would be repeated in anti-Christian literature produced by Japanese officials during the persecution of Christianity seven decades later. Soon after these debates, one of Xavier's successors, Balthasar Gago (c. 1520–83), compiled a list of key theological terms whose use in Japanese translation was to be avoided. This was deemed a necessary corrective measure; and this decision had a profound impact on the Jesuits' linguistic strategies in Japan for as long as the mission continued.[5] And while there were exceptions to this policy, the Jesuits in Japan never attempted again to use exclusively Japanese and Chinese terms to express key theological concepts. This is in marked contrast with their fellow missionaries in China—although the Jesuits in the Middle Kingdom would not escape controversy, even among themselves, on account of that decision.[6] The Japanese experience explains at least in part, however, the caution with which the Jesuits in China would approach Buddhist culture and religious terminology.[7]

11.3 Jesuits in the Capital and "Home Provinces"

Although Xavier had not succeeded in doing so, by 1560 Gaspar Vilela (1525–72) had secured permission from Ashikaga Yoshiteru (1546–65), the shogun, for the Jesuits to conduct their activities in the capital. A city with over seven hundred Buddhist temples, the missionaries faced the formidable opposition of monks from the various sects present in the city. Vilela was aided in his work

5 For a discussion of Balthasar Gago's reform of Christian terminology, see his letters to Jesuits in India and Portugal (Hirado, 23 December 1555) in *Documentos del Japón, 1547–1557*, (ed.) Juan Ruiz-de- Medina (Rome: 1990), I: 569–70. For a comprehensive study of the questions of translation in the early Japanese mission see Georg Schurhammer, *Das kirchliche Sprachproblem in der japanischen Jesuitenmission des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tokyo: 1928); and more recently, Kishino Hisashi, "From *Dainichi* to *Deus*. The Early Christian Missionaries' Discovery and Understanding of Buddhism," in *Christianity and Cultures. Japan and China in Comparison, 1543–1644*, (ed.) M. Antoni J. Ucerler, S.J. (Rome: 2009), pp. 45–60.

6 For a recent discussion of this recurring problem in the mid-17th century among the Jesuits themselves, see Liam Matthew Brockey, *The Visitor. André Palmeiro and the Jesuits in Asia* (Cambridge, MA: 2014), 311–17 and 355–57.

7 For more on Michele Ruggieri and his disagreement with Alessandro Valignano and Matteo Ricci on whether they should present themselves as "monks who had come from India", see Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "The Jesuit Encounter with Buddhism in Ming China," in *Christianity and Cultures. Japan and China in Comparison, 1543–1644*, pp. 19–43 and his *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City. Matteo Ricci, 1552–1610* (New York: 2010), 97–115.

by a blind convert from Hirado and former itinerant bard (*biwa hōshi*), Lourenço Ryōsai (c. 1525–92), whom Xavier had baptized in 1551 in Yamaguchi. Renowned for his eloquence and his ability to engage in debate with Buddhist monks on the finer points of doctrine, he became a Jesuit brother and was very effective in preaching his new faith.[8]

One of Vilela's successors in Kyoto was the Portuguese Jesuit, Luís Fróis (1532–97), an important eyewitness of a number of key events that unfolded during the following decades, including warlord Oda Nobunaga's entry into Kyoto in 1568 and his abolishment of the Muromachi shogunate under the Ashikaga shoguns in 1573. A prolific writer and keen observer of Japanese culture, he composed a history of the mission which, despite its limitations and embellishments, remains an important source of information about the early development of the Christian communities in Japan.[9] Fróis mastered the Japanese language and met Nobunaga several times during his tenure in Kyoto.[10] Of particular value are his detailed descriptions of events and places, including Nobunaga's famed castle at Azuchi, which he visited several times.

In 1570, an Italian Jesuit, Organtino Gnecchi-Soldo (1540–1609), arrived in Kyoto. Six years later he built the first church in the city, which was dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption. Known as the "Temple of the Southern Barbarians" or *Namban-dera* (or alternatively, *Namban-ji*), it took the name that the Japanese used to refer to the Portuguese and later the Spanish. This church is of special significance, as representations of the building and the administration of sacraments in it can be found on several extant *Namban byōbu* or painted folding screens depicting scenes of the foreign merchants and missionaries in Japan. The edifice was a three-storied structure in wood in the shape of a traditional pavilion.[11]

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8 For his life, see Yūki Ryōgo [Diego Pacheco], *Rorenso Ryōsai. Hirado no Biwa hōshi* (Nagasaki: 2005).

9 For Fróis's history of the mission, see his *História de Japam*, ed. Josef Wicki, 5 vols (Lisbon: 1976–1984). His superior, Alessandro Valignano, thought very little of Fróis's historiographical efforts. For this reason he forbade the manuscript from being published during his lifetime. The full manuscript was only published within the last forty years.

10 For a brief discussion of Nobunaga's dealings with the Jesuits, see Jeroen Lamers, *Japonius Tyrannus: The Japanese Warlord Oda Nobunaga Re-considered* (Leiden: 2000), 171–87.

11 The bronze church bell from the Jesuit *Namban-dera* is preserved to this day at the Shunkō-in subtemple, founded in 1590, which is part of the Myōshin-ji Zen temple complex in Kyoto. It is noteworthy that a number of rare artifacts, manuscripts, and books from the Japanese Christian period survived the systematic destruction of the late 17th century on account of their preservation in Buddhist temples.

The Jesuit presence in the Capital marked the beginning of an important development in the history of Christianity in Japan. As there was no incentive of profit among these Japanese who became Christians or supported the presence of the foreigners, the Jesuits' efforts in the environs of Kyoto were a remarkable success, even if relatively small in scope. Within the first several years of the mission in the Capital, several hundred converted to Christianity. Many of the samurai lords and nobles from the "home provinces" (Gokinai) around Miyako who chose to embrace the new faith appear to have done so out of genuine religious motivations. Most prominent among them was Takayama Ukon (Tayu Nagafusa) or Don Justo (1552?–1615), lord of Settsu and Takatsuki castle, and son of Takayama Zusho or Dom Dário (1531–96). Ukon would later fight valiantly in support of the armies of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536/37–98) and accompany him in the invasion of Kyushu in 1586–87. A staunch Christian, Ukon subsequently lost his fief in 1587 for refusing Hideyoshi's order to give us his faith. In the wake of the general expulsion of missionaries from all Japanese territories at the end of 1614, he once again chose exile over apostasy and died in Manila shortly thereafter.

11.4 The Mission in Kyushu

In contrast to the Gokinai communities, the early missionary outposts in Kyushu (or "Shimo") were linked—at least at first and in part—to the presence of foreign ships and the promise of lucrative trade. Local lords lobbied the missionaries to intercede on their behalf with the Portuguese merchants so that they would agree to conduct direct trade with them and sail into their ports and harbors. Thus, in Kyushu, missionary work was at times inextricably embroiled with the economic interests of the local feudal lords. The most important example of this relationship between missionaries and merchant was the opening of the port of Nagasaki to trade. As mentioned earlier, it was in 1571 that a Portuguese ship first entered that harbor. Other ports, including Yokoseura and Fukuda, just outside Nagasaki Bay, had been used since the 1560s, but they were vulnerable both to attack from rival feudal lords and from storms that might destroy the ships.

One of the earliest patrons of the Jesuits in this area was the regional lord of Ōmura, who controlled both Nagasaki and Yokoseura. Ōmura Sumitada (1533–87) became a Christian in 1563 and was baptized "Don Bartolomé" by Cosme de Torres. His son, Yoshiaki (1569–1616) was also baptized in 1570 and was known as Don Sancho—although he would abandon his faith in 1606 and engage in a bitter persecution of Christians in his domains thereafter.

Besieged by his neighboring enemy, Ryūzōji Takanobu (1530–84), in June 1580 Sumitada decided to make a "donation" of the two key ports of Nagasaki and Mogi to the Society of Jesus.[12] The maneuver did, in fact, save him from forfeiting his domain and also guaranteed income from trade with the Portuguese. While he claimed the import taxes paid by the Japanese merchants, and carried out criminal justice—which clerics were barred from doing under canon law—he acted in the name of the Jesuits, who otherwise remained responsible for the city's civil and ecclesiastical administration. This highly unusual arrangement, which saved Ōmura from becoming a vassal of Ryūzōji but raised many eyebrows in Rome, would last only seven years and come to an end with Hideyoshi's invasion of Kyushu.

By 1578 the Jesuits were receiving a fixed income from the silk trade, including the harbor fees the Portuguese were paying Sumitada. Less stable and formal arrangements going back to 1567 had provided the mission with temporary respite from their dire financial straits. This too would become a sticking point in Rome. Eventually, the Jesuits secured a dispensation *ad tempus* in 1582 from the Holy See. Even though the Portuguese monarch and Pope Gregory XIII had promised funding, almost none of it ever materialized until many years had passed. These strong ties that bound the Jesuits to the Ōmura clan, spiritual, political, and financial, cannot be overestimated, as those early years determined the fate of the mission for decades to come. Nagasaki would effectively become one of the main centers of Jesuit operations until the prohibition of Christianity and the expulsion of all missionaries beginning in 1614. Even today, four hundred years later, Nagasaki remains the city with the largest number of Christians among the local populace, compared to other cities in Japan.[13]

11.5 Alessandro Valignano and the Renewal of the Enterprise

With the death of Cosme de Torres in 1570, the responsibility of the fledgling mission had been placed in the hands of Francisco Cabral (1533–1609), who arrived on Amakusa Island that year in June together with Organtino

12 For Valignano's letter to the General explaining these arrangements, see Nagasaki: 15 August 1580, in ARSI: *Iap.-Sin.*, 8 I, ff. 277r–79r and his *Sumario* (1583), 68*–75* and 77–80. For an analysis of the document of donation, see Yūki, Ryōgo [Diego Pacheco], *The Founding of the Port of Nagasaki* (Macau: 1989).

13 For a history of the city of Nagasaki, see the recently published scholarly monograph by Reinier H. Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki. World Trade and the Clash of Cultures, 1560–1640* (Jefferson, NC: 2016).

Gnecchi-Soldo. Under his leadership, a number of high-ranking Christian lords, including Ōtomo Yoshishige, had been baptized and the mission continued steadily to expand. However, his style of religious discipline left many of the Jesuits dissatisfied. His brusque and abrupt manner and his fundamental suspicion that the Japanese could not be trusted had an adverse effect on the morale of the mission. Despite Cabral's misgivings about the character of the Japanese, he recommended that a school be established in Japan to prepare future missionaries to work in the country. This proposal was initially rejected but later implemented by the Italian missionary who would arguably have the greatest impact on the Japanese mission. That man was the Italian nobleman, Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), who was appointed by superior general, Everard Mercurian (1514–80) to act as his personal delegate or "Visitor" to all the new missionary stations, from the coast of East Africa to India, the Malay Peninsula, and beyond, as far as China and Japan. This office effectively gave Valignano the power to make all the necessary decisions related to the governance of the mission in the name of the Superior General in Rome.

Appointed in 1573, he left Rome for Lisbon to embark for the Indies. Independent minded and brilliant to the point of stubbornness, Valignano's first challenge was to face the formidable opposition he encountered upon his arrival in Lisbon. The Jesuits in Portugal had resisted the appointment of a foreigner to head *their* missions in the East Indies and were adamant that he leave behind the twenty-three Spanish Jesuits that he had recruited on his way to Lisbon. In the end, he prevailed, however, and the Portuguese monarch, John III, agreed to allow him to sail to India with a large contingent of non-Portuguese Jesuits. This episode is significant to our story of the Japanese mission in that it marked an early moment of "internationalization" of an enterprise that might have otherwise taken a different direction under wholly Portuguese leadership—especially in light of the pressures exerted by the Jesuits in Portugal.[14]

After he arrived in Goa in 1574, he set out immediately to visit that mission; and from there he made his way to Macau. He finally arrived in Japan for the first time in July 1579. His first visitation would last just over two years until February 1582. The policy decisions he made during this stay re-structured the mission and set the tone for subsequent decades. He would later return to Japan twice, in 1590 for a further two years, and again in 1598 for five years.

14 For a summary of the life and work of Valignano, see my "Alessandro Valignano. Man, Missionary, and Writer," in Daniel Carey (ed.), *Asian Travel in the Renaissance* (Oxford: 2004), 12–41. For a detailed study of his early work, see Josef Franz Schütte, *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan*, trans. John J. Coyne, 2 vols (St. Louis: 1980–85).

The last three years of his life, 1603–1606, were spent in Macau. He died as he was preparing to visit Matteo Ricci (1552–1610). His famous protégé was directing the Jesuit mission in Beijing, where he was serving the imperial court as a scholar.

Valignano's first visitation of Japan was undoubtedly transformative for the mission. By 1579 the number of Jesuits in Japan had grown to fifty-five, among whom there were seven Japanese brothers and more than a hundred lay catechists who assisted the missionaries. The latter were known as *dōjuku* and undertook many of the menial tasks in Jesuit houses and churches; but they also engaged in preaching to their fellow countrymen. Their role was critical, for they knew the language and could be persuasive in ways that were beyond the limited linguistic and cultural capabilities of a foreign missionary. The Visitor was understandably concerned when he observed the disunity and hard feelings ("desunión y aversion") that characterized the relations between the Japanese and their European mentors who needed to work closely together if the mission was to continue. He laid the blame for this conflict at the door of Cabral, whom he accused of employing excessively harsh discipline ("in virga ferrea") towards the Japanese, lest they become too proud and "refuse to obey their superiors.[15]" The Visitor would instead insist on adopting a gentler manner or *modo soave* in all dealings of the missionaries with the Japanese.

Valignano learned this important lesson about the need to adapt to Japanese cultural norms rather than to attempt to resist them from the lord of Bungo, Ōtomo Yoshishige, with whom he would forge a very close relationship when he first visited him in 1580. The Japanese lord excoriated the Jesuits for their lack of manners and told Valignano in no uncertain terms that it was both absurd and a clear sign of lack of intelligence for a handful of foreigners to try to impose their own customs on the Japanese, who often found their behavior both vulgar and barbaric. Yoshishige noted that he was appalled at what he saw in Jesuit residences and could barely contain his rage on account of the revulsion he felt at the way the Europeans conducted themselves.[16]

Stunned by this harsh and blunt rebuke, not long after his meeting with Yoshishige, Valignano considered reorganizing the entire Jesuit community structure to mirror the rules and customs of the Buddhist temple complex of

15 Valignano would recall his criticisms of Cabral's behavior in a letter he composed to Mercurian's successor as Superior General, Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615), from Goa on November 23, 1595. See *Documenta Indica*, ed. Josef Wicki, Monumenta Missionum, 18 vols (Rome: 1948–88), 17, 261–64.

16 For Valignano's conversations with Ōtomo Yoshishige, see his letter to Claudio Acquaviva (Goa: 23 November 1595) in *Documenta Indica*, 17: 259–88 (267–68).

Nanzenji in Kyoto. This included adapting their system of strict hierarchical ranks among the bonzes. These recommendations formed part of a famous treatise he composed on Japanese etiquette and how Jesuits were to follow it in the minutest details, from the way they organized their living quarters, to the way they dressed and the manner in which they spoke to each other and entertained high-ranking guests. Of particular interest are the rules for the traditional Japanese tea ceremony, of which a number of missionaries as well as Japanese Jesuits would become accomplished practitioners. So radical were a number of these proposed reforms, however, that the Superior General, Claudio Acquaviva—a childhood friend of Valignano—unequivocally struck down many of the Visitor's ideas. In one of the rare letters that survive from Rome in response to reports received from Japan, composed on December 24, 1585, Acquaviva warned his friend and subordinate not to adapt too zealously to Japanese mores, especially with regard to the wearing of expensive silks and demanding to be treated with great honors. Acquaviva feared that in this way Society of Jesus in Japan would lose its own identity as a religious order. The General reminded Valignano that the missionaries had taken a vow of poverty and were first and foremost called to preach Christ crucified; they should be careful "not to put on another [false] face in Japan" (*non induat Societas in Iapone aliam faciem*).[17]

11.6 The Establishment of Schools

These and other reforms were the result of a series of consultations that Valignano held in Japan soon after his arrival. The years 1580–81 saw the missionaries meet several times to debate how the mission needed to be carried forward. One of the most significant policy decisions that the Visitor took before his departure in early 1582 was to establish a number of schools or *seminarios* to educate Japanese youth in preparation for them to enter the service of the Church. The principal goal of these schools was to teach them the basic skills of writing in Latin and in Japanese. They were also to master the customs and

17 For Valignano's treatise and Acquaviva's response, see his *Advertimentos e avisos acerca dos costumes e catangues de Jappão* (*1581*), trans. and ed. Josef Franz Schütte as *Il Cerimoniale per i missionari del Giappone*, Raccolta di studi e testi, 13 (Rome: 1946), 315–24 (p. 319). For a discussion of the significance of this work, see Adriana Boscaro, "Valignano interpreta il Giappone. *Il Cerimoniale,*" in *Alessandro Valignano, S.I. Uomo del Rinascimento. Ponte tra Oriente e Occidente*, (eds.) Adolfo Tamburello, M. Antoni J. Ucerler, and Marisa Di Russo (Rome: 2008), pp. 217–29.

etiquette (*katagi*) of Japan, while acquiring knowledge of Christian doctrine and pursuing virtuous conduct. These schools were founded in the territories of a number of the Jesuits' key allies among the feudal lords— in their domains and under their protection. The volatile warlord, Oda Nobunaga himself offered his patronage in his castle town of Azuchi, where Organtino would head the *seminario*. Nobunaga even visited the school on several occasions and listened to the students performing music on European instruments. Such was the warlord's apparent good will that, before he left the country, Nobunaga warmly received Valignano at Azuchi and offered him one of his prize possessions, the only known painted screen depicting his castle in every detail. Even the emperor had unsuccessfully petitioned Nobunaga to give it to him. The Visitor's intention was to present this *byōbu* to the Pope when he returned to Europe. Its whereabouts remain unknown to this day.

Other locations for the Jesuit schools were all in Kyushu. Ōtomo Yoshishige offered land and funds to start a school in his capital, Funai, and Arima Harunobu (1567–1612), whom Valignano baptized in 1580, offered his patronage and converted an old temple in his domain on the Shimabara peninsula for the use of the *seminario*. In that same same year Valignano decided to admit Japanese young men into the Society of Jesus and insisted that in no way would the Japanese be outdone in talents or disposition by their European companions;[18] and for this purpose he set up a novitiate in Usuki in Ōtomo's domain. It initially received six Europeans and six Japanese. The decision to admit Japanese was extraordinary at the time, as not everyone in Rome was convinced that the "native" populations and recent converts of Asia were ready to be admitted as full members of the Order.[19]

To ensure that these new members would be given the full benefit of a proper education for the priesthood, he subsequently also founded a "college" of higher studies, where Japanese and European Jesuits would study philosophy, theology, and the sciences in preparation for their ordination to the priesthood. This college was different from others founded elsewhere by the Jesuits in that Valignano decided to introduce changes to the traditional *studia humanitatis* and substitute the study of the Greek classics with the classical texts of Japan and China, including Buddhist doctrine. This was the first time that

18 See Valignano's letter to Everard Mercurian (Usuki: October 27, 1580), in ARSI: *Iap.-Sin.*, 8 1, fol. 299r.

19 For a discussion of the educational policies at these schools, see Hubert Cieslik, "Kirishitan gakkō ni okeru hyūmanizumu [Humanism in the Jesuit Schools (of Sixteenth-Century Japan)]," in *Daigaku to hyūmanizumu*, (ed.) Sophia University, Sophia Soshō, 1 (Tokyo: 1953), 171–97.

non-Western classics had been introduced into the curriculum at a Jesuit college. Not only was he concerned that the curriculum needed to be adapted to Japanese needs, he was also keen to ensure that the students had a good grounding in Japanese classical traditions. He wrote to Europe and asked prominent scholars to compose a compendium specifically for use in Japan, but his request went unanswered. He then approached Pedro Gómez (1535–1600), who became vice-provincial of Japan in 1590, to undertake the task of preparing a course of studies adapted to the needs of Japan. Before arriving in Asia, Gómez had taught the entire curriculum of the humanities at Coimbra under the supervision of Pedro da Fonseca (1528–99), who was popularly known at the time as the "Aristotle of Portugal". His experience in teaching the modified curriculum of philosophy compiled at the Jesuit college known as the *Cursus philosophicus conimbricensis*, published between 1592 and 1606, was reflected in the compendium of philosophy, theology, and astronomy that Gómez composed for the college at Funai. Initially, the classes were taught through the medium of Latin, but this was a great burden on the Japanese students who struggled with the language.[20] In 1594–95 the Jesuits, under the supervision of Pedro Ramón (1550–1611), set about preparing a translation of their textbook into Japanese. Among them were two highly educated converts, who had formerly been Buddhist monks, Paulo Yōhō Ken, and his son, Vicente Hōin.

It was an important collaborative venture that marked the desire to go beyond the crisis of terminology sparked by Xavier's linguistic misunderstandings and Gago's list of forbidden translations of Christian concepts. The Japanese translation of the *compendia* has marked differences from the initial Latin version. While it continued to use transliterations of certain terms, it also introduced some limited but key Christian concepts by referring to existing terminology taken from Buddhism and other traditional Japanese sources. Based on the *De anima* of Aristotle and the *Catechism of the Council of Trent*, first published in Rome in 1566, it took a more "positive", i.e. less speculative and scholastic (i.e. Thomistic) approach, to the exposition of theological doctrine and introduced discussions that were specifically geared to explaining how Christian ethics related to the Japanese context in which the Christians lived.[21]

20 The Latin manuscript was discovered in the Vatican Library by Joseph Franz Schütte in 1939. It had previously belonged to the collections of Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–89), who lived and died in Rome after her abdication and conversion to Roman Catholicism. See Joseph Franz Schütte, "Drei Unterrichtsbücher für japanische Jesuitenprediger aus dem XVI. Jahrhundert," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 8 (1939), 223–56.

21 For a study on the compendium, see my "Jesuit Humanist Education in Sixteenth-Century Japan: The Latin and Japanese MSS of Pedro Gómez's 'Compendia' on Astronomy,

11.7 The Tenshō Embassy to Europe

As Valignano's first visit drew to a close, he began compiling an extensive record of his findings on Japan and on the mission, which he completed in 1583. These would form the basis of one of his most important and original works, i.e. the "Summary of Things Japanese" or *Sumario de las cosas de Japón.* This highly detailed description of the situation in Japan served as a blueprint for his decisions and would be revised and expanded with a number of "Additions" during his second visitation in 1590–92.[22] He would also pen the first of two historical accounts of the mission's progress.[23] But how could Europeans really understand what was taking place in such a far-off and "exotic" country? To help his fellow Europeans gain a better understanding of the mission, he came up with another original idea. In order to promote the Jesuits' work in Japan, the Visitor chose four teenage boys who were related to the lords of Kyushu to form a delegation to Europe. They departed in 1582 together with Valignano and arrived in Lisbon two years later. When they first reached Goa, however, the Visitor learned of his new appointment as provincial superior of India and reluctantly remained behind awaiting their return.

In the meanwhile, these Japanese youths, accompanied by their Jesuit mentor Diogo de Mesquita (1553–1614), travelled throughout the European continent for over two years on what is often referred to as the "Tenshō embassy", paying visits to one court after another and taking part in royal audiences, parades, processions, and other colorful public events. As they journeyed through the city-states of Italy, including Florence and Venice, as well as the principal towns and cities of Spain and Portugal, they were cordially received with great honors and festivities wherever they went.

Philosophy, and Theology (1593–95)," in *The Latin and Japanese MSS of Pedro Gómez's Compendia*, (ed.) Kirishitan Bunko, Sophia University, 3 vols (Tokyo: 1997), vol. 3, pp. 11–60. For a full translation of these texts, see Obara Satoru, *Iezusu-kai Nihon korejiyo no kōgi yōkō*, 3 vols (Tokyo: 1997–99). For a detailed study of Gómez's work on Aristotle, see Frédéric Girard, "Aristote au Japon: la version japonaise du *Compendium* de Gómez," in *Empires éloignés. L'Europe et le Japon* (*XVIe-XIXe siècle*), ed. Dejanirah Couto et François Lachaud, Études thématiques, 24 (Paris: 2010), pp. 25–37 and his "Une traduction oubliée d'Aristote au Japon: le *De Anima* et son commentaire par Saint Thomas d'Aquin (1225–1274)," in *L'oeuvre scientifique des missionnaires en Asie*..., (eds.) Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, Jean-Pierre Mahé, and Jean Leclant (Paris: 2011), 153–96.

22 See his *Sumario de las cosas de Japón* (*1583*). *Adiciones del sumario de Japón* (*1592*), ed. José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, Monumenta Nipponica Monographs: 9, 1 (Tokyo: 1954).

23 See his *Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales* (*1542–1564*), (ed.) Josef Wicki, II (Rome: 1944).

In Rome, they were received repeatedly in audience by two popes, Gregory XIII (1502–85) and Sixtus V (1521–90), were accorded high honors by Philip II (1527–98) in Madrid, and welcomed by numerous cardinals, princes, dukes, and other prominent members of the European aristocracy. The youths, Itō Mancio (1568–1612), Hara Martinho (1569–1629), Nakaura Julião (1567–1633), and Chijiwa Miguel (1569–1620?), surprised their hosts with their carefully delivered speeches in Latin and Portuguese and delighted the general populace with their dignified manner and curious Japanese dress. They were hailed as the "Christian princes of Japan", who had come from afar to bear witness to the conversion of their lands to the Christian faith. They were also seen as living proof of the successes and travails that the missionaries in Japan had recounted in the hundreds of letters they sent back to Europe and that had been widely published in many languages since the 1550s. Their arrival was an event that met with great curiosity and general excitement. That said, the Jesuits probably did not foresee the extent to which the Japanese boys' visit came to represent the desire of Catholic Europe to claim an overseas victory against her Protestant detractors.[24] The conversions in Japan were seen as offsetting the heavy toll exacted by the Reformation in many northern European kingdoms and especially the recent loss of England, another island kingdom, to the Protestant cause.[25]

24 For a list of the numerous books and pamphlets that were published between 1584 and 1600 on the embassy in various European languages, see Adriana Boscaro, *Sixteenth-Century European Printed Works on the First Japanese Mission to Europe. A Descriptive Bibliography* (Leiden: 1973).

25 For a published account of the journey of the four Japanese boys based on the account of Luís Fróis (1532–1597), see Michael Cooper, *The Japanese Mission to Europe, 1582–1590. The Journey of Four Samurai Boys through Portugal, Spain and Italy* (Folkestone: 2005). See also Judith C. Brown, "Courtiers and Christians: The first Japanese Emissaries to Europe," *Renaissance Quarterly* (47/4) [Winter 1994], 872–906. Valignano would later compose an extensive dialogue in Latin, supposedly of the conversations the boys had among themselves during the trip. He hoped it would serve as one of the textbooks at the college. For an English translation the *De missionum legatorum Iapponensium ad Romanam curiam*, which was published in Macau in 1590, see *Japanese Travellers in Sixteenth-Century Europe. A Dialogue concerning the Mission of the Japanese Ambassadors to the Roman Curia (1590)*, (ed.) Derek Massarella and trans. by Joseph F. Moran (London: The Hakluyt Society, 2012). For a Portuguese translation of this dialogue, see [Duarte De Sande, S.J.], *Diálogo sobre a Missão dos Embaixadores Japoneses à Cúria Romana*, ed. and trans. by Américo da Costa Ramalho (Macau: 1997). Note that there is debate over the question whether this dialogue was originally composed by Valignano (in a language other than Latin) or by Duarte de Sande. It is quite certain, nevertheless, that De Sande produced the elegant Latin translation in Macau.

11.8 Printing and Painting

When the embassy returned to Japan in 1590, they brought with them a Gutenberg handpress, which they unpacked and put to use twice on their return voyage, first in Goa in 1587 and then again in Macau in 1588. The Jesuits introduced European moveable-type printing to Japan almost at the very same time that Hideyoshi brought metal type from Korea as he returned from his military expeditions on the peninsula. The Jesuits first experimented with printing texts in Japanese in Romanized transcription. Soon, however, they had skilled local craftsmen carving Chinese characters and Japanese kana in cursive script to produce matrices that would allow them to print books in beautiful calligraphy. The works that came off their press included explanations of Christian doctrine as well as the works in Japanese translation of the Dominican, Luís de Granada (1505–88), one of Europe's most renowned authors of devotional literature.[26] They also published an array of materials for the study of Japanese, including dictionaries of Japanese, Portuguese, and Latin and the first Japanese grammars. The latter texts were composed by João Rodrigues, a Jesuit who reached a level of fluency in Japanese that was recognized by Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, both of whom availed themselves for a time of his services as interpreter.[27] Once the persecution began, the books continued to be a source of inspiration and knowledge about the Christian faith. Diogo de Mesquita, who had brought the press back from Lisbon in 1590, notes more than two decades later how it was not possible "to exaggerate the wonderful results obtained by these books [...] for they serve as preachers to the Christians. With this help both the persecuted and those who are not persecuted are confirmed in their faith and their customs."[28]

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26 See D. Pacheco, "Diogo de Mesquita, S.J. and the Jesuit Mission Press," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 26 (1971), 431–43; William J. Farge, *The Japanese Translations of the Jesuit Mission Press, 1590–1614. De Imitatione Christi and Guía de Pecadores* (Lewiston, NY: 2003). Also see my "Missionary Printing", in *The Book. A Global History*, (eds.) Michael F. Suarez, S.J. and H. R. Wooudhuysen (Oxford: 2013), 107–115. For an in-depth study of the relation of Jesuit printing techniques in relation to those used in Japan at the time, see Toyoshima Masayuki, *Kirishitan shuppan* [Christian Printing (in Japan)] (Tokyo: 2013).

27 For a biography of Rodrigues, see Michael Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter. An Early Jesuit in Japan and China* (New York: 1974). For a translation of Rodrigues's history of the Japanese mission, see Cooper's *João Rodrigues's Account of Sixteenth-Century Japan* (London: 2001).

28 See Diogo de Mesquita to Claudio Acquaviva (Nagasaki, November 9, 1613), in ARSI, *Jap.-Sin.*, 36, f. 27v.

The Jesuits realized that besides books, sacred artistic representations, and especially paintings, were greatly valued by the Christians. They also served as a catechetical and liturgical tool. The missionaries often wrote to Rome asking for images and engravings to be sent to Japan. Some did arrive, but they were never sufficient to meet the growing needs of the mission. In the end, the Italian Jesuit brother, Giovanni Cola (1558–1626), who was an accomplished painter, was sent to Japan in 1583, after having also spent time in Macau. He was soon working at the Jesuit *seminario*, which had to be constantly moved from one place to another in order to avoid detection by Hideyoshi. It was in Shiki in 1592 that several Japanese became his apprentices and began to learn the techniques of western painting and engraving. The school, referred to as the Academy of St. Luke, was moved numerous times thereafter, but it eventually settled in Nagasaki, where it remained until 1614.[29] At the same time, the famous Kanō school of painting was producing elaborately painted "Southern Barbarian" screens depicting the arrival of the foreigners and their activities in Japan.

11.9 Changing Tides under Toyotomi Hideyoshi

While the "Japanese embassy" was in Europe and Valignano was back in Goa, the situation of the Jesuits in Japan was about to change radically. It is perhaps an irony that it was none other than Ōtomo Yoshishige, routed in battle and beleaguered by his enemies, who went to Osaka to appeal directly to Hideyoshi to come to Kyushu and defeat the Shimazu. This provided the *kampaku* or regent with a useful excuse to eliminate any opposition to his rule, which he duly accomplished in June of 1587, when Shimazu Yoshihisa (1533–1611) surrendered and became a monk. Almost at the same time as Ōtomo, the Portuguese superior of the mission, Gaspar Coelho (1529–90), was also in Osaka to seek audience with Hideyoshi. Both at that meeting and when the two men met again in Hakata the following year, Coelho went out of his way to

29 For a succinct summary of Cola's arrival in Japan, see Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki*, pp. 117–22. See also Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art* (Berkeley: 1989), pp. 1–15 and Tamon Miki, "The Influence of Western Culture on Japanese Art," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 19,3/4 (1964), 380–401. For an overview of artistic endeavors in the Jesuit mission of Japan, see Michael Cooper, "Early Western-Style Painting in Japan," in *Japan and Christianity*, (eds.) Breen and Williams, 30–45 and Gauvin A. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1540–1773* (Toronto: 1999), 52–81.

ingratiate himself with the Japanese warlord. He then made the disastrous mistake of promising to lobby the Christian lords to support Hideyoshi's military campaigns. At Hakata he even sailed into port to meet the *kampaku* on an ultra-light armed vessel that he had secured to protect the missionaries from pirate attacks.

Flying into a rage—real or contrived—after having drunk a good amount of the Portuguese wine that Coelho had procured, he issued an order the next day, on July 25 1587, that all Jesuits leave Japan immediately on account of their political meddling.[30] He also used for the first time the argument that "Japan was the land of the Gods (*shinkoku*)" and that other religions therefore had no place there. Curiously, this did not spell the end of the mission and no Jesuits actually left the country. Hideyoshi soon relented and allowed the missionaries to remain in Japan, ostensibly to be of aid in commercial dealings with the Portuguese. They were never again, however, to engage in missionary work. From that day forward an odd "cat and mouse" game began, as the Jesuits constantly moved their residences and their college to avoid detection by Hideyoshi, while the regent pretended "not to know" what they were doing. Sometimes considered emotionally unstable by some historians, Hideyoshi was definitely a Machiavellian master in keeping everyone around him off balance and guessing as to what he might do next.

Luckily for the Jesuits, they had not been forced out of Japan. Nevertheless, the arrival of any new recruits, including the return of the Visitor was now in jeopardy. Valignano was livid at the shocking indiscretions and lack of prudence displayed by Coelho and blamed him in his private correspondence to Rome for the ensuing persecution.[31] Valignano and the embassy of the four boys, with whom he had been reunited in Goa, arrived in Macau in 1588. However, it was not until two years later, in 1590, that he was able to secure permission from Hideyoshi to re-enter Japan—and this was only granted in his capacity as ambassador of the Viceroy of India. Hideyoshi would receive them with delight

30 See Jurgis Elisonas [George Elison], "Christianity and the Daimyo," in John Whitney Hall (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol 4: *Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: 1991), 301–72 (347–53 and 359–65). For a discussion of Coelho's politics, see José Alvarez-Taladriz, "Apuntes sobre la fusta del P. Gaspar Coelho, Viceprovincial de Japón (1583–1587)," *Sapientia. The Eichi University Review,* 22 (1988), 133–49.

31 See José Alvarez-Taladriz, "El Padre Viceprovincial Gaspar Coelho. ¿ 'Capitán de armas' o 'pastor de almas'?," *Sapientia. The Eichi University Review,* 6 (1972), 41–79 and his "La persecución de 1587 y el Viceprovincial Gaspar Coelho, según el Visitador Alejandro Valignano," *Sapientia. The Eichi University Review,* 9 (1975), 95–114.

and offer an elaborate feast at his Juraku palace in Kyoto on March 3, 1591. He even went as far as asking Itō Mancio to remain in his service, but the young man begged permission to decline the invitation, which was granted.[32]

In the meanwhile Hideyoshi had he set his sights on the Philippines and issued a direct threat to the Spanish outpost. The message was delivered by Harada (Gaspar) Magoshichirō and delivered in 1592—a key year that also marked the beginning of Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea. It was his intention to make the Korean peninsula a stepping stone on his way to realize his grander ambition, the conquest of China itself. If the Spaniards did not submit to his authority, the Japanese regent threatened to send an expedition to destroy Manila. The governor of the Philippines, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas had been warned of the imminent arrival of Hideyoshi's envoy and wrote to the king in April about the arrival of thirty to forty Japanese "pilgrims" who he believed were actually spies sent ahead by Hideyoshi. In the letter to the crown, he warns of the imminent prospect of a Japanese attack and asks for military reinforcements.[33] This prompted the governor to dispatch the Dominican, Juan Cobo, as his envoy to Hideyoshi. This was done against the explicit wishes of the Jesuit superior in Manila, Antonio Sedeño, who had conferred with Valignano about the matter. Cobo, who had learned Chinese, eventually met with Hideyoshi in August 1592 and took the opportunity to speak against the Jesuits and the Portuguese. As a result, the church and the Jesuit residences in Nagasaki were destroyed.[34]

11.10 The Arrival of the Mendicants and the Jesuit Monopoly

On the heels of Cobo's embassy, the Franciscans arrived in Japan in 1593 under the leadership of Pedro Bautista Blázquez (1542–97). He was well received by Hideyoshi, who had his eye on Manila, and was allowed to settle anywhere he

32 For an account of the arrival of the embassy to visit Hideyoshi, see Fróis, *História de Japam*, v, 298ff.

33 For Hideyoshi's letter to the Governor of the Philippines, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, and the latter's response on June 11, 1592, see *Labor Evangelica, ministerios apostólicos de los obreros de la Compañía de Iesús, fundación, y progressos de su provincia en las islas Filipinas,* 3 vols (Barcelona: 1900–1902), II, 55–56. For the governor's previous letter to the king, dated May 31, 1592, warning of a Japanese threat to Manila, see *Labor Evangelica*, I, 572, n. 1.

34 For a succinct account of this embassy, see Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki*, pp. 93–99.

wished. The Friar decided to go to Kyoto. He was aided in his work by Jerónimo de Jesús, who arrived the following year and would play a key role for the Franciscans and the Spaniards in Japan.[35] But the friars misinterpreted Hideyoshi's permission to settle in the capital with license to preach Christianity openly. Although repeatedly warned of the dangers of their actions by the Jesuits and Japanese Christians, they were convinced that Hideyoshi had sanctioned their actions and that they would therefore be safe.[36]

The tides of fortune literally changed when the Spanish galleon, the *San Felipe*, bound for Mexico with a rich cargo, ran aground in Urado Bay off Shikoku Island in December 1596. While the local lord of Tosa, Chōsokabe Motochika (1539–99) investigated, the pilot of the ship is purported to have boasted of Spanish exploits in the Americas and how missionaries were sent ahead to prepare the way for conquest. Enraged by this supposed display of arrogance and, Hideyoshi confiscated the cargo and immediately ordered all Christians in Kyoto to be executed. A few days later, persuaded by Maeda Munehisa Gen'i Hōin (1539–1602), governor (*shoshidai*) of Kyoto and a friend of the Jesuits, he relented and agreed to have a smaller contingent of Christians and missionaries executed in their stead. The group included the six Franciscans, seventeen Japanese (among whom three young boys), and three Jesuits, who

35 For an introduction to his work and to primary source documents, see Lorenzo Pérez, *Fr. Jerónimo de Jesús: Restaurador de las misiones de Japón. Sus cartas y relaciones* (*1595–1604*) (Florence: Typ. Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1929). This is a compilation of documents published in the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum,* XVI-XXII between 1923 and 1929.

36 For an introduction to the history of Franciscans in Japan, see Bernward Willeke, "Die Ankunft der ersten Franziskaner in Japan," *Zeitschrift für Missions- und Religionswissenschaft*, 43 (1959), 166–76; his "Biographical Data on Early Franciscans in Japan (1582–1640)," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 83/1–2 (1990), 169–80; and Thomas Uyttenbroeck, *Early Franciscans in Japan* (Himeji: 1959). For published primary sources, see Lorenzo Pérez, Lorenzo, *Cartas y relaciones de Japón* (Madrid: 1916–23). Also see Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Historia de las islas del archipiélago filipino y reinos de la Gran China, Tartaria, Cochincina, Malacca, Siam, Cambodge y Japón*, (ed.) Juan R. de Legísima, O.F.M. (Madrid: 1947).

For documents related to the dispute between the Jesuits and the Franciscans, see *Documentos Franciscanos de la Cristiandad de Japón* (*1593–97*). *San Martín de la Ascensión y Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira. Relaciones e Informaciones,* (*ed.*) José Alvarez-Taladriz (Osaka: 1973) and his edition of Valignano's *Apología de la Compañía de Jesús de Japón y China* (1598) (Osaka: 1998). Also see his "Notas para la historia de la entrada en Japón de los franciscanos," in *España en Extremo Oriente. Filipinas, China, Japón: Presencia Franciscana, 1578–1978,* (eds.) Victor Sánchez and Cayetano S. Fuertes (Madrid: 1979), 3–32. For a history of the Augustinian presence in Japan, see Arnulf Hartmann, *Augustinians in Seventeenth-Century Japan* (Marylake, King City, ON/ New York: 1965).

were resident in Osaka at the time. He had their ears mutilated to indicate that they were criminals and ordered them to be paraded through the streets as they made their way to Nagasaki for execution. He wanted to make it clear to the Portuguese that he would not tolerate disobedience to his decrees. The harsh journey took a month and they met their deaths on the Nishizaka hill on February 5, 1597. Many witnessed their martyrdom, including several Jesuits and friars resident in Nagasaki, as well as many Portuguese and Japanese Christians. Among the Franciscan martyrs were Gonçalo García (1556–97), born in Bassein (Vasai), India and Felipe de Jesús (1572–97), who was born in Mexico. As prospects for the mission looked grim, Hideyoshi suddenly died on September 18, 1598, just five days after Philip II had passed away in Spain. An important chapter of history had come to an end, both in Japan and in Spain.

The Jesuits had thus seen their monopoly of the missions in Japan challenged by the arrival of the mendicants from the Philippines. Whether the Society of Jesus should welcome other missionaries had become a topic of some debate during Valignano's initial consultations in 1580–81, but he had argued against it and worked to keep a tight control over the Japanese mission by ensuring that no other religious orders were allowed entry. His reasoning was that if the fledgling Church in Japan displayed too many different styles of evangelization, it would unnecessarily confuse newly converted Christians, many of whom were living in precarious circumstances to begin with.[37] The developments of these years must be seen against the backdrop of the union of the two crowns of Portugal and Spain in 1580 under Philip II. The Spanish monarch had promised, nevertheless, to adhere to the respective privileges, commercial and ecclesiastical, of the two kingdoms. Despite this royal pledge and Valignano's resolve to keep the friars from coming to Japan, a number of Franciscans and Augustinians, who were sailing aboard a merchant vessel, landed in Hirado in 1584, not long after the Visitor's departure.[38] The following year Gregory XIII issued the papal brief, *Ex pastoralis officio*, which confirmed that the Japanese mission was part of the Portuguese *padroado.* This effectively guaranteed the Society of Jesus exclusive rights to work in the Japan mission field and at once confirmed its dependency on the diocese of Macau, which had been erected in 1576. Macau, in turn, was dependent or "suffragan" to the archdiocese of Goa, and thus firmly under Portuguese *Padroado* administration.

37 See Valignano's *Sumario*, 143–49.

38 This is discussed, with references to the primary source manuscripts in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, in Fernando Iwasaki Cauti, *Extremo Oriente y el Perú en el siglo XVI* (Lima: 2005), 146ff.

But the situation was further complicated in 1586, when Sixtus V issued a new brief, *Dum ad uberes fructus*, which established the Franciscan Custody of St. Gregory in the Philippines and granted them the privilege of evangelizing in other parts of East Asia. A dispute immediately arose regarding the interpretation of this brief and how it affected the privileges of the system of Royal patronage that governed the missions. The main point of contention that emerged was whether it was morally justifiable, beyond the letter of the law, to keep other missionaries out of Japan, which was recognized as an important mission field for evangelization. The arrival of the mendicants was thus linked to a diplomatic crisis that tested the relationship of the two Iberian kingdoms within their outposts in East Asia.

The issue continued to engender conflict for over a decade, Hideyoshi's expulsion decree notwithstanding, until it was seemingly resolved with a compromise. In 1600 Clement XIII declared in his *Onerosa pastoralis officii* that all religious orders could engage in missionary work in Japan, provided that they come to Japan via Lisbon *and not* from the Philippines—a condition that was to be enforced under pain of excommunication. This restriction was not strictly respected, however, and a group of mendicants arrived in 1606 and 1607. The final barrier for missionaries other than Jesuits to work in Japan was removed in 1608, when Paul V declared that they could come to Japan directly from the Philippines.

Throughout his tenure, Valignano remained convinced that the Church in Japan was not ready to welcome a bishop on account of the instability of the political situation and the poverty of the Christians, who would be unable to support the considerable expenses that came with the establishment of a bishopric.[39] The Jesuit Melchior Carneiro (1516–83) was the resident bishop in Macau since 1568 and technically also responsible for Japan. He was succeeded by Leonardo Fernandes de Sá (d. 1599) of the Cistercian Order. Neither man, however, set foot in Japan. Despite Valignano's recommendations, on February 19, 1588 Rome erected Funai as the first diocese of Japan. The compromise was at least to have bishops who were members of the Society of Jesus.[40] Sebastião de Morais de Funchal (1536–1588) was then appointed bishop of

39 See Valignano's *Sumario*, pp. 142–48.

40 See Hubert Cieslik, "Zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Hierarchie in der alten Japanmission," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 18 (1962), 42–58; 81–107; 177–95; Josef Franz Schütte, "Die Wirksamkeit der Päpste für Japan im ersten Jahrhundert der japanischen Kirchengeschichte (1549–1650)," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 5 (1967), 177–261; João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, "O Cristianismo no Japão e o Episcopado de D. Luís Cerqueira," Doctoral dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1998, and his "Em torno da criação

Japan, but he died six months later. Thus, the first bishop actually to set foot in the country was another Jesuit, Pedro Martins (1542–98), who was appointed in 1592. He arrived in Nagasaki in 1596 but left Japan not long thereafter and died in 1598 in Malacca, where his gravestone can still be seen today. It was the third bishop of Funai, Luís Cerqueira, S.J. (1552–1614), who had been coadjutor since 1593 and had taken over after Martins's death, who had the greatest impact on the Church in Japan—though he would be based in Nagasaki rather than Funai. It was during his tenure that a seminary was established to train native diocesan clergy; and it was Cerqueira who ordained the first Japanese priests in 1601, Sebastião Kimura (1563–1622) and Luis Niabara.

11.11 The Mission and Tokugawa Ieyasu

Hideyoshi's death gave Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) the opportunity he had been waiting for. In an epic battle all the feudal lords who supported him met on the battlefield to challenge those who refused to submit to his rule. Having vanquished the opposition on the plains of Sekigahara on October 20, 1600, the process of unification of Japan that had begun with Oda Nobunaga was quickly coming to a close. A number of prominent Christian lords, including Konishi Yukinaga (1555–1600), who had led Hideyoshi's armies in the invasion of Korea, ended up fighting on the losing side against Ieyasu. The missionaries were apprehensive that the new shogun would take immediate revenge upon them for that reason; but he still had plans to use the missionaries to his advantage and was satisfied with ordering Konishi to commit *seppuku*. As a Christian believer, he refused to do so and was beheaded in Kyoto.

Despite these irritants, Ieyasu was keen to promote trade with Spain and Mexico and invited the Spanish to anchor their ships in his domain in Kanto. In the meantime, the Dominicans and Augustinians arrived in 1602 in Satsuma, where the local authorities hoped that their presence might prompt the Spanish to begin direct trade with them. Several years later in 1609, Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco (1564–1636), who had been appointed interim governor

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do Bispado do Japão, Centro de estudos de história e de cartografia antiga," in *As relações entre a Índia portuguesa, Ásia do sueste e o Extremo Oriente: Actas do VI seminário internacional de história indo-portuguesa* (*Macau, 22 a 26 de outubro de 1991*), (eds.) Artur Teodoro de Matos and Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz (Macao/Lisbon: 1993), 141–71. On Cerqueira see Ignatia Rumiko Kataoka, "La vita e la pastorale di Luis Cerqueira s.j., vescovo del Giappone, 1598–1614," Doctoral Dissertation, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1985.

of the Philippines, was making his return trip to Mexico when he was shipwrecked on the Japanese coast.[41] He ended up spending nine months in Japan and was treated with the honors due to a high official by both Ieyasu at his castle in Sunpu and by his son, Hidetada in Edo. They ordered Will Adams (1564–1620), the first Englishman in Japan, to build Vivero a new ship. Adams had arrived in 1600 aboard the Dutch ship *De Liefde* and later replaced João Rodrigues as the shogun's official interpreter. As he had Ieyasu's ear, Adams was to play a key role in the conflicts that erupted between the English and the Dutch on the one hand and the Portuguese and the Spanish on the other.

With the new ship ready for him to board, Vivero set sail for the American continent with twenty-three Japanese under the leadership of Tanaka Shōsuke and the Franciscan friar, Alonso Muñoz, who was Ieyasu's official delegate and had been allowed to settle in Nagasaki in 1607. When they arrived in Mexico, they were well received by Luís de Velazco (1534–1617), Rodrigo's uncle; as a result he decided to dispatch Sebastián Vizcaino (1548–1624), who took the delegation back to Japan in 1611. Vizcaíno was then granted an audience by both Ieyasu, who was officially retired, and by Hidetada. And while a Spanish royal decree of the previous year had opened the possibility of trade between the Philippines and Japan, nothing tangible that might benefit the shogunate in a substantial way actually materialized.

The following year would be critical, as a corruption and bribery scandal broke out that embroiled the Christian daimyo, Arima Harunobu, who was also accused of plotting to assassinate Hasegawa Sahyōe Fujihiro (1567–1617), the magistrate of Nagasaki. Ieyasu reacted by ordering Harunobu's exile and then his death, as well as other executions of Christians in his domain. In 1599 the Franciscans had succeeded in building a church in Edo with Ieyasu's permission.[42] And more churches were established in Kyoto, and Osaka between 1601 and 1603. The church in Edo, however, was destroyed in 1612 in the wake of the Harunobu affair. The Franciscan friar, Luis Sotelo (1574–1624), who arrived in Japan in 1603, rebuilt the church in Edo a year after its destruction. For that offense, he was taken into custody, while a number of Japanese Christians were executed.

41 For a partial translation of Vivero's account or *Relación* with a scholarly introduction, see Michael Cooper, *An Unscheduled Visit: Rodrigo de Vivero in Japan, 1609–1610,* Japan Supplement, Fourth Series, volume 22 (Tokyo: 2009).

42 For the Franciscans in Nagasaki, see Carla Tronu, "The Rivalry between the Society of Jesus and the Mendicant Orders in Early Modern Nagasaki," *Agora: Journal of International Center for Regional Studies*, 12 (2015), 25–39.

11.12 The Expulsion of the Missionaries

When Ieyasu heard about the reaction of the populace to the executions that had taken place in Arima and Kyoto from the governor of Nagasaki and how the common people who were Christians were keen to collect relics from those who had been killed, he interpreted it as a direct assault on his authority. The governor, Hasegawa, lost no time making Ieyasu's outrage known to Pedro Morejón, a Spanish Jesuit in Nagasaki in a letter that he wrote to him on December 22, 1613. In the annual letter for 1614, Morejón reports how the shogun is convinced that "any teaching that encourages people not only to adore a man condemned to [die on] the cross for his crimes but also to revere and honor those who are [executed by being] cut into pieces or burnt [to death] by order of their [legitimate] lord must be diabolical. And anyone who has the temerity to promulgate a "law" [religion] that teaches to behave in such a manner commits a great outrage."[43] His first reaction was to order all those living in his domains at Edo and Kyoto to renounce Christianity. This was followed by an initial destruction of churches in the capital. He then found out that there were a number of prominent samurai in his own entourage at Sunpu Castle, including Ogasawara Gonnojō (1589–1615), Sakakibara Kahyōe, and Hara Mondo-no-suke Tanenobu (1587–1623), who were Christians. These men, together with fifty-three other retainers, were sent into exile. He also discovered that fourteen of his own relatives had converted to Christianity.

A month later, on January 27, 1614, he ordered the Buddhist monk, Ishin (Konchi'in) Sūden (1569–1633), to draft a document on his behalf banning Christianity and ordering the expulsion of all missionaries. This document, known as the *bateren tsuihōrei* and issued at the beginning of 1614, marked a turning point in the Japanese mission, as all activities thereafter were conducted in secret and were considered illegal.[44] Ōkubo Tadachika was immediately

43 See Pedro Morejón, *Lettera annua del Giappone del M.DC.XIV* ... (Rome: 1617), 7. For a certified copy by Valentim Carvalho and his ecclesiastical notaries entitled, *Certidão da carta de Safióye governador de Nangasaqui sobre a causa da perseguição que ha em Japão*, dated 20 March 1614, see ARSI: *Jap.-Sin.*, 16 I, 49r-v.

44 Sūden acted as Ieyasu's "foreign minister" of the shogunate and was an influential figure in his government. For the anti-Christian decree he composed, see his "Foreign Diaries" or *Ikoku nikki,* published by Murakami Naojirō, *Ikoku Ōfuku Shokan-shū: Zōtei Ikoku Nikkishō* (Tokyo: 1966). These have been reproduced in facsimile in *Eiinbon Ikoku nikki. Konchiin Sūden gaikō no monjo shūsei,* (ed.) Nakamura Tadashi (Tokyo: 1989). For a study of this document and its implications, see Gustav Voss, "Early Japanese Isolationism," *The Pacific Historical Review*, 14/1 (1945), 13–35.

dispatched from Odawara to Kyoto to begin the dismantling and destruction of churches. And while a number of missionaries did leave on ships bound for both Macau and Manila in public compliance with Ieyasu's order, many others were determined to remain in Japan and went into hiding.

Just as these events were beginning to unfold, Date Masamune (1567–1636), lord of Ōshū in Sendai, organized the "Keichō embassy" to Europe headed by his vassal Hasekura Rokuemon Tsunenaga (1571–1622). This had been done with Ieyasu's consent, who freed Sotelo and charged him with accompanying the Sendai delegation on their long journey. They crossed the Pacific and first landed at Acapulco in New Spain (Mexico), whence they continued overland to Vera Cruz and sailed across the Atlantic to Seville. After the Japanese were baptized in Madrid, Sotelo arranged for the embassy to meet with Pope Paul V in Rome, where he was named bishop for Japan. But when they returned to Manila in 1620, the local Spanish authorities detained Sotelo and hindered him from returning to Sendai in order to prevent him from aggravating their relations with the Portuguese, as Philip III had not consented to his consecration as bishop, and Ieyasu had banned Christianity six years earlier. Shortly after Hasekura returned to Sendai in 1620, Date banned Christianity in his domains.[45] Despite Ieyasu's repeated efforts and the various embassies, in the end, both Manila, Madrid, and Acapulco remained wary of the Japanese, who had executed Spanish missionaries in 1597, and then proceeded to ban Christianity altogether in 1614. Thus, while the king of Spain received the delegation and afforded Hasekura a courteous welcome, he refused to establish any further trade relations with the shogunate or even enact any previous agreements.

But Ieyasu's task of eliminating all resistance to his rule among his fellow samurai was not yet complete. He had promised his former overlord, Hideyoshi, before his death in 1598, to install his son, Hideyori, as his heir and hegemon. Nevertheless, Ieyasu did not honor his pledge, which led to Hideyori rebuilding Osaka castle, a formidable fortress. Its very existence continued to present a visible threat to the shogunate's legitimacy. In two battles that were among the largest ever fought in Japan, Ieyasu and his allies attacked the castle in two

45 For more on Spanish-Japanese relations during this period see Juan Gil, *Hidalgos y samurais. España y Japón en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: 1991) and Ubaldo Iaccarino, "Comercio y Diplomacia entre Japón y Filipinas en la era Keichō (1596–1615)," Doctoral Dissertation, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, 2013. Also see the earlier work by Boxer, "Portuguese and Spanish Rivalry in the Far East during the 17th Century," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 2 (1946), 150–164 and 1 (1947), 91–105.

separate campaigns, in the winter of 1614 and the summer of 1615. Hideyori was killed and his eight-year-old son, Kunimatsu, who was captured, was executed publicly in Kyoto after being paraded through the streets. As fate would have it, Hideyoshi's mother, Yodogimi (1569–1615), conferred with the Jesuits in the hope of gaining foreign support for her son; and there were even several Jesuits inside the castle during the siege.

11.13 Life and Death under the Edo Shogunate

Ieyasu was greatly angered yet again when he saw the number of samurai who were flying Christian banners during the battle. As Morejón relates in a report published several years after the event,

> "[at the siege of Osaka] there were so many crosses, with the names of Jesus and Mary painted on their banners and pennants, and engraved onto their helmets and arms, that it is inconceivable that the shogun did not know about it; and it must have greatly angered and annoyed him to think that the Christians had conspired against him with Hideyori."[46]

Ieyasu died the following year, in 1616, and was succeeded by Hidetada, who had always been very suspicious of all things foreign. He immediately stepped up the pressure on the Christians and missionaries who remained in Japan. But it would be during the tenure of the third shogun, Iemitsu (1604–51), who was even more xenophobic and harbored open hatred towards both Christian missionaries and believers, that the mission would ultimately face its demise. The authorities lost no time in rounding up members of both groups and instituted mass public executions, many of which involved burning at the stake. Fifty-five Christians were executed in Nagasaki in 1622 during the last year of Hidetada's rule; and a similar number were killed in Edo in 1623 to mark the beginning of Iemitsu's ascendancy to power.[47] A famous painting, most probably produced by an eyewitness to the executions in Nagasaki, is preserved in the sacristy of the Church of the Gesù in Rome and illustrates the martyrdoms in great detail.

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46 See [Pedro Morejón], *Historia y relación de los sucedido en los reinos de Japón y China, en la qual se continua la gran persecución que ha avido en aquella Iglesia, desde el año de 615. hasta el de 19* ... (Lisbon: 1621), p. 8v.

47 For an analysis of what happened at Edo, see Hubert Cieslik, "The Great Martyrdom in Edo 1623. Its Causes, Course, Consequences," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 10 1/2 (1954), 1–44.

To ensure that the population was not Christian, the government instituted a system of public apostasy in 1629 that involved stepping on a Christian image (*fumi-e*) to symbolize repudiation of the Christian faith. In tandem with this system of ideological control, the shogunate also began enforcing a *terauke* or temple registration system, whereby every Japanese had to be registered at one of their local temples. This followed on the establishment of the Office of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyō*) in 1635. The *terauke* system had been first employed by Hosokawa Tadaoki (1563–1646) within months of Ieyasu's anti-Christian decree in the former lord's domain of Kokura. The initial target for the system were "fallen" or apostate Christians (*korobi kirishitan*) who had to be monitored lest they return to their former faith.[48] The shogunate also instituted a communal system of responsibility in every village and town or the *gonin-gumi*, whereby five households were responsible for each other's good behavior. Thus, if a member of one family committed an offense, all five households were held accountable and severely punished. This was particularly true for the crime of harboring Christians or foreign missionaries that came to be considered an act of treason against the shogunate. Thus, the authorities counted on the families to spy on each other to ensure compliance.

Another important tool in the fight against Christianity was censorship of Christian books. In 1630 [Kan'ei 7], the shogunate realized that Christian books were entering Japan via China. To ensure that this no longer happened, they banned all books written in Classical Chinese and printed by Jesuit missionaries in China. The ban extended to all scientific books the Jesuits had published in the Ming Empire. This prohibition remained in place until 1720, when Nakane Genkei (1662–1733), an accomplished astronomer and calendrical expert, convinced Yoshimune (1684–1751), the eighth Tokugawa shogun, to relax the ban. This was part of a set of policy changes known as the reforms of the "Kyōhō era". Nakane noted that a proper reform of the Japanese calendar could not be carried out without scholarly reference to the Western astronomical knowledge contained in the Jesuit treatises published in China.

Throughout Iemitsu's tenure, officials were encouraged to compile anti-Christian tracts and treatises.[49] One of the first significant instances of

48 See Nam-Lin Hur, *Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan. Buddhism, Anti-Christianity, and the Danka System,* Harvard East Asian Monographs, 282 (Cambridge, MA: 2007) and Tamamuro, Fumio, "The Development of the Temple-Parishioner System," *Japanese Journal,* 36/1 (2009), 11–26.

49 On the extensive body of anti-Christian literature, including translations of key works produced during the Edo period, see George Elison, *Deus Destroyed. The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: 1991). See also Kiri Paramore, "Early

this genre was the treatise *Haiyaso*, composed by the Confucian scholar, Hayashi Razan (1583–1657), to refute Christian ideas. It was purportedly a record of a debate that he had with the Japanese Jesuit scholastic (seminarian), Fabian Fukansai (1565–1621) in 1606).[50] Fukansai had composed a dialogue entitled *Myōtei mondō*, which depicted two noble women, Myōshū and Yūtei, a Buddhist and a Christian respectively, arguing the merits and demerits of Buddhism, Confucianism, Shintō, and Christianity. Recent research has suggested, nevertheless, that the debate was most probably a literary conceit, not unlike the *Myōtei mondō* itself. It seems unlikely that the debate between the two men ever took place, as had been previously assumed.[51] In fact, from the records of Razan's visit to Nagasaki in 1610, he does not appear to be very familiar with Christian doctrines—which would be strange if he had participated in a major debate on the topic four years earlier.[52] In a particularly surprising turn of events, Fukansai left the Society of Jesus and became an apostate sometime in 1608 or 1609. By 1620, he had composed a new treatise, this time against Christianity, entitled *Hai Daiusu*. It was different from any other similar works, as not only had it been composed by someone intimately familiar with Christian doctrine, but it came from the brush of one who had practiced that faith for many years.[53]

Sometime between 1629 and 1632, the Japanese governors at Nagasaki, Takenaka Uneme and Suetsugu Heizō, changed their tactics. Having realized that Christians believed in the value of martyrdom, they concentrated their efforts on pressuring the local Christians to apostatize instead. They would break the morale of the community by breaking the spirit of the individual Christians. Soon thereafter a new torture, the torment of the pit or *ana-tsurushi* was invented. It could take days to die in excruciating pain, but it allowed the

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Japanese Christian Thought Reexamined: Confucian Ethics, Catholic Authority, and the Issue of Faith in the Scholastic Theories of Habian, Gomez, and Ricci," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 35/2 (2008), 231–262; and his *Ideology and Christianity in Japan* (London/New York: 2009).

50 For a short introduction to Fukansai's writings, see Monika Schrimpf, "The Pro- and Anti-Christian Writings of Fukan Fabian (1565–1621)," *Japanese Religions*, 33 (1–2), 35–54.

51 For a modern translation of the entire text by Fabian see *The Myōtei Dialogues. A Japanese Christian Critique of Native Traditions*, (eds.) James Baskind and Richard Bowring (Leiden: 2016).

52 See Kiri Paramore, "Hayashi Razan's Redeploymentof anti-Christian Discourse: the Fabrication of Haiyaso," *Japan Forum*, 18/2 (2006), 185–206.

53 For a translation of this and other representative anti-Christian texts, see George Elison [Jurgis Elisonas], *Deus Destroyed. The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: 1991).

victim to make a sign that he was ready to recant. They would use this infamous method with the aim of forcing the missionaries to abandon the very faith they had come to preach. In 1633, they counted among their prized prisoners, Nakaura Julião, who had participated in the Tenshō Embassy, and the Jesuit provincial superior of Japan, Christóvão Ferreira (c. 1580–1650). After five hours in the pit, he could resist no longer and was extracted, while Nakaura died nearby. He was given a new identity as Sawano Chūan and forced to marry a Japanese woman. He even composed an anti-Christian tract, *Deception Revealed* (*Gengiroku*) in 1636. With Ferreira, the authorities had achieved several major victories in their battle against Christianity. They had broken the most important Jesuit in Japan (*korobi bateren*), whom they would bring out for interrogations of captured Christians and other missionaries.[54]

But the shogunate did not enjoy their perceived victory for long. The last straw came in the form of a peasant rebellion far from the center of power in Edo, but not far from Nagasaki. The Shimabara Rebellion at Hara Castle took place in 1637. What started out as a revolt of peasants against excessive taxation that would have driven them to the brink of starvation, ended up being interpreted as a "Christian" rebellion against the central government—as virtually all the rebels who took part were, in fact, Christians. The shogunate was shocked at the level of resistance they put up and the heavy casualties sustained among the shogunate's samurai troops in their initial attempts to quell the rebellion. By the time of the final surrender, following a siege of Hara castle that lasted for several months, the dead among the *bakufu* forces numbered approximately 124,000. On the rebel side, 30,000 died, as the shogunate ordered all survivors to be executed without exception.

With ever more stringent measures enacted domestically, the shogunate was keen also to control its foreign relations. To this end, they banned all Japanese from going abroad in 1633; and by 1636, they had confined the Portuguese to Dejima in Nagasaki, as they suspected that the merchants were secretly aiding the missionaries still in Japan.[55] Finally, in 1639, they expelled the Portuguese and closed the doors to all Europeans, save for a small contingent of Dutch merchants confined to Dejima, where the Portuguese had spent three years.

In the meanwhile, Ferreira's apostasy shocked Christian Europe, and the Society of Jesus dispatched a number of Jesuits ready to face torture and death in the

54 Hubert Cieslik, "The Case of Christóvão Ferreira," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 29/1 (1974), 1–54.

55 For an analysis of the foreign expulsion laws passed by the Edo shogunate between 1633 and 1639, see Michael S. Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony* (Amherts: 2011).

hope of persuading him to recant his apostasy and to die to make amends for what their fellow Jesuit had done against his own faith. Among the first to undertake this mission was the Italian, Marcello Mastrilli, who was executed in 1637 after three days in the pit. Among the martyrs of that year we also find the first Filipino, Lorenzo Ruiz (b. 1600?), who was not a Jesuit. Mastrilli was followed by another group, lead by Antonio Rubino (1578–1643), who arrived in Satsuma in 1642. They were apprehended upon arrival and taken to Nagasaki. There they were tortured from August of that year until they were put in the pit, where they expired in March 1643.[56] Another contingent, referred to as the "Second Rubino group", consisted of ten men. Among the Jesuits were Pedro Márquez (1575–1657), newly appointed provincial of Japan, and Giuseppe Chiara (1604–85). They arrived a mere three months after the deaths of Rubino, but all of them apostatized under torture and died later on the compound of Inoue Chikugo no Kami Masashige (1585–1661), who had been appointed *shūmon aratame no yaku* or "Religious Inquisitor" in 1640 to route out Christians and make them recant.

In 1643 the mere fact of being a Christian became a crime. It was around this time that all Japanese had to be in possession of a *terauke shōmon* or temple registration certificate, proving that they had been registered at a temple. In 1646 Inoue turned part of his property in Kobinata in Edo into the Christian prison and interrogation center (*Kirishitan yashiki*). To encourage the local population to denounce anyone whom they suspected of being a Christian or a missionary, the authorities repeatedly put up public signs on wooden boards reiterating the ban and promising a sizeable monetary reward to be paid out in silver bars. The number of all those who died for their Christian faith during those years remains hard to determine, but records allow us to state with confidence that at the very least several thousand gave up their lives during the period of persecution.[57] It was, in fact, comparable in scale to the early martyrdoms under the Roman Empire.

The question of the ultimate motives for the persecution is a complex issue that would require a separate study.[58] It will be useful nonetheless to mention a number of factors. From the time of the *San Felipe* affair, the idea that Spain might be planning a surreptitious invasion of Japan by sending missionaries

56 See Reinier H. Hesselink, *Prisoners from Nambu: Reality and Make-Believe in Seventeenth-Century Japanese Diplomacy* (Honolulu: 2002),

57 For a record of those who are known to have died for their Christian faith in Japan, see Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, *El Martirologio del Japón* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1999).

58 For an analysis of the motivations behind the shogunate's reaction to Christianity and Christians in Japan, see Yamamoto, Hirofumi, "The Edo Shogunate's View of Christianity

to prepare the way certainly captured the attention and imagination of Hideyoshi and his successors. Even the missionaries chose to mention this accusation against them in the Latin *Dialogue* of the four boys to Europe, where Valignano puts the following words in Itō Mancio's mouth:

> [S]ome pagans in some places have formed the wrong opinion, and have unreasonably persuaded themselves, that the fathers of the Society and other Japanese, bound to one another by a most ardent bond of love, might easily think of seizing power over the whole of Japan.[59]

A thorough perusal of Spanish archival sources disproves this possibility, although a number of missionaries did not hesitate to mention in their personal correspondence military invention as an option that should be considered. In the critical years when Ieyasu was trying to decide whether to engage with Spain or not, the English and Dutch did not hesitate to reaffirm his suspicions of the "real" intentions of the Spanish and Portuguese in Japan. In fact, Prince Maurits of Nassau (1567–1625) wrote to the shogun in 1610 explicitly warning him to be on guard against

> … the Jesuits or Fathers of the Company, who under the pretense of religious holiness, seek to bring about a change of religion in Your Imperial Majesty's splendid Empire. This will gradually tear asunder [your kingdom] and lead to partisanship and civil war. In order that this should not come about, they should not be allowed to come [to Japan] at any time.[60]

Similar charges would be repeated time and again in the anti-Christian literature that followed. The *Kirishito-ki,* composed in 1643, for example, states that

> [The foreigners] are building ships and sending them all over the world. In case their strength is no match for a certain country, they go and lease one part of it. They … menace the people and the peasants. As soon as suitable places are found to live in, they begin to build fortresses and send silver, rice, and money to their home-countries. Finally, they lay waste the land in a way which cannot be described. Or they bring about war, kill the people, and conquer the country. Thus they do not only intend to spread

in the Seventeenth Century", in *Christianity and Cultures. Japan & China in Comparison, 1540–1644*, (ed.) M. Antoni J. Ucerler (Rome: 2009), 255–67.

59 See *Japanese Travellers in Sixteenth-Century Europe*…, Colloquium XXIV, 305.

60 See Murakami, *Zōtei ikoku nikki-shō*, 126–34.

> Catholicism, but also to conquer foreign countries. And all these things are carried out by the order of the Pope.[61]

And yet when the Confucian scholar, Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725), put brush to paper to record his thoughts on the matter almost a century later, he surprisingly denied the likelihood of any such motivations on the part of the missionaries:

> It has gradually become clear that those from other countries who spread this teaching [= Christianity] all over the world are not involved in a conspiracy to overtake [our] country. Nevertheless, wherever this teaching flourishes, a breed of rebels [from within that country] appear; and is this not an inevitable consequence? … However, our country … strictly forb[ade] alien teachings; and thus at present we have extinguished this evil influence.[62]

There is no denying that "reason of state" at many levels, both in Europe and in Japan, influenced the actions and reactions of missionaries, monarchs, and shoguns. But ultimately, if not by means of military force, it was the ideological "invasion" that posed the greatest perceived threat to the Edo shogunate; with Japan's borders firmly secured and the Dutch confined to Dejima, the only thing that could continue to threaten them was rebellion and disloyalty from within. Christianity was seen as a dangerous foreign influence that competed with the shogunate for the hearts and minds of the populace. This could not be tolerated and had to be removed at all costs, like a cancer, from the body politic.

11.14 The End of the Mission

Just as the Japanese had succeeded in their intent to rid Japan of these influences, on July 26, 1647 a large Portuguese military vessel arrived in Nagasaki under the captainship of Gonçalo de Siqueira de Sousa.[63] The justification they gave for defying the ban of 1639 was that the captain was not a merchant but

61 See Gustav Voss and Hubert Cieslik, *Kirishito-ki und Sayō-yoroku. Japanische Dokumente zur Missionsgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tokyo: 1940), 16.

62 See the appendix (*furoku*) to the text of the *Seiyō kibun,* in *Arai Hakuseki zenshū* (Tokyo: 1977), 4, 796. For a critical edition of this text, see Arai Hakuseki, *Seiyō kibun, (eds.)* Muraoka Tsunetsugu, Iwanami Bunko, 1353 (Tokyo: 1936; repr. 1969), 139–40. For a discussion of this work in the context of Tokugawa anti-Christian discourse, see Kiri Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity in Japan* (London/New York: 2009), 52–55; 103–109.

a representative of the newly restored independent crown of Portugal under king John IV who had come to inform the Japanese of this new development. A standoff that lasted several months ensued, during which the Japanese authorities blocked the entrance to the Bay by creating a temporary bridge made of small boats and wrote to Edo for instructions. The shogunate refused the offer to renew relations but did eventually allow the ship to leave, as it had come directly from Portugal rather than with merchants from Macau. As they sailed out of the harbor, it would be the last time the Portuguese were to set eyes on Japan until the modern era. With their departure, the expulsion of the Spanish in 1624, and the capture and execution of all remaining missionaries, the Japanese mission had effectively come to an end.

The last episode involving a foreign missionary was the arrival in Japan in 1708 of Giovanni Battista Sidotti (1668–1714), who was a priest but not a Jesuit. He was arrested immediately after his arrival but treated with courtesy by the shogunate. Arai Hakuseki was put in charge of interrogating him and engaged in a long series of interviews with Sidotti. His findings formed the basis for his "Record of Tidings from the West" (*Seiyō kibun*), which he began compiling during the years of the priest's captivity. His conversations also influenced a work Hakuseki composed in 1713 on world geography and science entitled *Sairan igen*. Sidotti was taken to the *Kirishitan yashiki*, the aforementioned interrogation and torture center for Christians in Edo, but he was not harmed and put under house arrest, where he lived for a number of years with an elderly couple that served as his minders. When the authorities discovered that he had convinced the couple that had once been Christians to return to their former faith, he was locked in an underground cell until he died.[64]

11.15 The "Underground Christians"

The remaining Japanese Christians were left to fend for themselves. In fact, they had been doing so already for decades, as many Christians had gone underground from the time of the prohibition, as the persecution intensified. These so-called "hidden Christians" would perform their rituals in complete secret

63 For account of this embassy see Charles R. Boxer, *A Portuguese Embassy to Japan (1644–1647). Translated translated from an unpublished Portuguese MS., and other contemporary sources, with commentary and appendices* (London: 1928).

64 See R. Tassinari, "The End of Padre Sidotti. Some New Discoveries," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 5/1 (1942), 246–53. For an edition of Hakuseki's work, see [Arai Hakuseki], *Seiyō kibun* (Tokyo: 1968).

and even use Buddhist symbols or statues to conceal their object of worship, as they passed on their faith from generation to generation. One poignant artifact that bears witness to this group's rituals is the hybrid "Maria Kannon", or statues of the Buddhist goddess of Mercy, Kannon (Chinese: Guanyin), which were used to pray to the Virgin Mary.[65] Many of these pockets of Christians survived in outlying areas such as the Gotō islands, near Nagasaki, and other more remote locations, where the shogunate's investigators and inquisitors were not as zealous or regularly present.[66] Their adaptation to the tense circumstances in which they sought survival is an extraordinary story of both fortitude and compromise. Forced annually to perform the rite of "image trampling" (*e-fumi*) in front of local officials to testify publicly to their complete repudiation of the Christian faith, they found ways to perform penance and express their *konchirisan* or "contrition" (Port.: *contrição*) for their acknowledged weakness and inability to face torture and death. While some might consider such a faith "imperfect" at best and a sign of failure, had it not been for these groups who transmitted secret prayers and rituals from generation to generation through a system of designated elders of the community, there would have been no Christians left in Japan.[67] These men and women were still aware of some of the fundamental tenets of their faith, even if much of what their ancestors had learned about Christianity was gradually lost over the two and a half of centuries they spent in hiding. Their survival would surprise the world, when they re-emerged in Nagasaki in 1865, only to suffer a final round of exile and persecution before the Meiji government, under foreign pressure, declared religious freedom throughout the country in 1871.

65 See Wakakuwa Midori, "The Iconography of the Virgin Mary in Japan & its Transformation: Chinese Buddhist Sculpture & Maria Kannon," in *Christianity and Cultures. Japan & China in Comparison*, 229–48.

66 For more on the history of the "hidden Christians", see Peter Nosco, "Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition. Issues in the Study of the "Underground" Christians," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 20/1 (1993), 3–29; Christal Whelan, *The Beginning of Heaven and Earth: The Sacred Book of Japan's Hidden Christians* (Honolulu: 1996); Stephen Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan: A Study of their Development, Beliefs, and Rituals to the Present Day* (Richmond, UK: 1998); and Miyazaki, Kentarō, "The Kakure Kirishitan Tradition," in *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*, ed. Mark R. Mullins (Leiden: 2003), 19–34.

67 For these texts, see Obara Satoru, *Kirishitan junkyō to senpuku* [Christian Martyrdom and Hiding (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 2006). For a study of these texts and their meaning, see Kawamura, Shinzō, *Konchirisan no Riyaku*, or a [Merit of Contrition (1603): Its Significant Role for the Japanese Christians during the Suppression and Persecution]," *Bulletin of Cultural Research Institute, Aoyama Gakuin Women's Junior College*, 9 (2001), 97–125.

11.16 Conclusion

The remarkable story of how Christianity arrived in Japan, developed, went into crisis, was suppressed, and yet survived, is entangled with much that took place both in East Asia and across the world in Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries. It was marked by the rise of the European maritime empires of Portugal and Spain and the arrival of missionaries aboard ships from the Iberian Peninsula. The Warring States period of Japan made it at once possible for foreigners to gain entrance to a country that was otherwise ravaged by civil war and to preach a faith that the Japanese had never heard of. And while the internecine conflicts threatened the survival of the missionaries and their converts, who were often caught in the midst of the battles for hegemony over the country, they maintained a relative freedom to do as they pleased. With the unification of the sixty-six kingdoms, first under Hideyoshi and then under the Tokugawa clan, Japan entered a new period of peace and stability. But this required an unwaveringly strong government, and the foreigners became a perceived threat to that unity of national purpose. With the increasing xenophobia of Hidetada and Iemitsu on the one hand, and the ready option of limiting trade with Europe to the Dutch, who were the enemies of Catholic Portugal and Spain, it became possible for the Edo shogunate to ban Christianity altogether without completely losing access to European markets.

Japanese Christians numbered as many as 400,000 by 1600, out of a total estimated population of twelve to fifteen million. The presence of such a numerous group of adherents to a faith that recognized no authority and loyalty higher than God—placing the shogun in distant second place—was seen to present a major ideological threat to the shogunate's power. What surprised officials in Edo was the number of Christians who would not abandon their faith, which only served to confirm further their suspicions. The magnitude of the Shimabara Rebellion of 1637–38 exacerbated the central government's sense of shock at how quickly they could lose control over the populace. The final expulsion of the Portuguese in 1639 and the execution of the entire Portuguese delegation in 1640—save for a few of the servants who were left alive so that they could sail back to Macau and recount the beheadings they had witnessed—brought its relations with the Iberian empire to an abrupt end. This was followed by the systematic elimination of missionaries and persecution of Christians within the country. With these two goals achieved, the curtain had come down on the "Christian century in Japan".

11.17 Postscript on Primary and Secondary Sources

The study of Christianity in Japan is a complex undertaking in that it requires the ability to read sources in a large variety of both European and East Asian languages. Moreover, many of the relevant primary sources remain unpublished and are dispersed in archives all over the globe that contain documents written mainly in Spanish and Portuguese, as well as in Latin. The principal extent collections are preserved in the following archives: the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) in Rome houses the *Iaponica-Sinica* collection, which contains approximately 100,000 folios, half of which include missionary correspondence and reports from Japan. Other collections in ARSI that are relevant to Japan are the *Lusitana*, *Goana*, *Congregationes,* and *Fondo Gesuitico,* among others. The other major collection in Italy is in the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II in Rome, which houses the former library of the Jesuit Roman College. Many documents that were part of the *Fondo Gesuitico* are preserved there. Other documents are also preserved in the collections of the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome—the former Dominican archive.

In Spain, the most important collections include the libraries and archives of the Real Academia de la Historia, the Biblioteca Nacional, and the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, as well as the Archivo de la Provincia de Toledo (of the Society of Jesus) in Alcalá de Henares, and the Archivo General de India in Seville (AGIS), with particular reference in the latter to the *Filipinas*, *Patronato*, and *Indiferente* sections of the collections.[68] In Portugal, the most important collections are the 18th-century copies of the Jesuit archives of Macau in the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon, which are catalogued as the *Jesuítas na Ásia,* with other documents also in the Biblioteca Nacional and the Arquivo Nacional Torre de Tombo, all in Lisbon.[69] Outside of the capital, the Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora has also has a number of important documents. Many of these collections are discussed in *El Extremo Oriente Ibérico.*

68 See Josef Franz, *El "Archivo del Japón". Vicisitudes del archivo jesuítico del Extremo Oriente y descripción del fondo existente en la Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid*, Archivo Documental Español, 20 (Madrid: 1964) and his *Documentos del Japón conservados en la Colección "Cortés" de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid: 1961). Schütte also discusses in great detail and reproduces documents from archival holdings in two volumes: his *Introductio ad historiam Societatis Jesu in Japonia, 1549–1650* ... (Rome: 1968) and *Monumenta historica Japoniae I. Textus catalogorum Japoniae* ... (Rome: 1975).

69 For a published catalogue of the Biblioteca da Ajuda manuscript collections related to the Jesuits in Japan and China, see *Jesuítas na Ásia. Catálogo e Guia*, (ed.) Francisco G. Cunha Leão, 2 vols (Macau: 1998).

Investigaciones Históricas: Metodología y Estado de la Cuestión, (eds.) Francisco Solano, Florentino Rodao, and Luís E. Togores (Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional/Centro de Estudio Históricos, Departamento de Historia de América, CSIC, 1989). Other manuscripts are also found in the British Library in the so-called "Marsden Collection", most of which are preserved in the Additional Manuscripts series. Primary source documents in Japanese have appeared in a number of different series, including the *Dai Nihon-shi* volumes, published by the National Historiographical Institute at the University of Tokyo. Many other Christian texts have been edited, annotated, and published by Kyōbunkan in Tokyo over the past twenty years in collaboration with the *Kirishitan bunka kenkyūkai* and the *Kirishitan Bunko* at Sophia University.

A great number of books were published in the 16th and 17th centuries in Europe in a variety of languages on Japan; and these include missionary correspondence. The most famous collections of letters are the *Cartas que los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía de Jesús, que andan en los reynos de Japón escrivieron a los de la misma Compañía, desde el año mil y quinientos y quarenta y nueve, hasta el de mil y quinientos y setenta y uno* [...] (Alcalá de Henares, Juan Iñíguez de Lequerica, 1575) and *Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreverão dos reynos de Japão e China aos da mesma Companhia da Índia e Europa, desdo anno de 1549 até o de 1580*, 2 vols (Evora: Manoel de Lyra, 1598). Annual letters followed for the years of persecution in the 17th century. Working together with Ms. Tsutsui Suna at the *Kirishitan Bunko* at Sophia University, I helped to create and encode a database that includes bibliographical data on most of the works produced during this period as well as a "Virtual Library" with tens of thousands of pages of scanned images of the original printed works.[70] This was the updated electronic version of the volumes published in Tokyo at Sophia University between 1941 and 1957 by Johannes Laures as *Kirishitan Bunko. A Manual of Books and Documents on the Early Christian Mission in Japan: With Special Reference to the Principal Libraries in Japan and more particularly to the Collection at Sophia University, Tokyo. With an Appendix of Ancient maps of the Far East, especially Japan.*

For edited and annotated manuscript material from ARSI (mainly from the *Goana* collection) see *Documenta Indica*, (ed.) Josef Wicki, *Monumenta Missionum*, 18 vols (Rome: IHSI, 1948–88) and the two volumes edited by Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, *Documentos del Japan, 1547–1557* (Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 137; Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1990) and *Documentos del Japón, 1558–1562* (Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu,

70 See http://digital-archives.sophia.ac.jp/laures-kirishitan-bunko/ (last consulted on October 16, 2017).

148; Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1995). Luís Fróis's *História de Japam* remained unpublished until the 1970s, when Josef Wicki edited his manuscripts and published his history in five volumes in Lisbon.

A great wealth of information about the Spanish presence in East Asia, including excerpts or full transcriptions of select documents can also be found in the *Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivio de Indias de Sevilla*, (eds.) Pablo Pastells and Pedro Torres Lanzas, 9 vols (Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1925–34) and in Francisco Colín and Pablo Pastells, *Labor Evangelica, ministerios apostólicos de los obreros de la Compañía de Iesús, fundación, y progressos de su provincia en las islas Filipinas,* 3 vols (Barcelona: Hendrich & Co., 1900–1902). A number of these documents have been translated into English in Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*…, 55 vols (Cleveland, OH: Arthur Clark, 1903–1909).

The distinguished Spanish scholar, José-Luís Alvarez-Taladriz, studied and transcribed a significant number of unpublished documents from both European and Japanese archives related to both the Jesuits and the Mendicant orders in Japan. These were published both as book-length volumes and in various journals.[71] Another key scholar who wrote primarily but not exclusively in German was the Jesuit Hubert Cieslik, whose many articles were gathered more recently into one volume, *Publikationen über das Christentum in Japan*, (eds.) Margret Dietrich and Arcadio Schwade (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004). In Japanese many groundbreaking studies were published in the journal, *Kirishitan kenkyū*, including transcriptions of primary source materials. The scholarly works of Anesaki Masaharu, Ebisawa Arimichi, Murakami Naojirō, Okamoto Yoshitomo, Okada Akio, Takase Kōichirō, Kataoka Yakichi, Obara Satoru, Kōso Toshiaki, Gonoi Takashi, Kawamura Shinzō, and Asami Masakazu, among many others, provide a wide range of perspectives and interpretations of the Christian missions in Japan in the 16th and 17th centuries and their cultural, religious, and historical significance. The Jesuit journal, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* and the Franciscan journal *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* also include many articles and transcribed manuscript materials relevant to the history of the missions in Japan.

The more contemporary interest in the subject in the English language began with Charles Ralph Boxer's *Christian Century in Japan*, first published in 1951 and reprinted many times thereafter. The volume made available for the first time in English translation many documents that that hitherto been

71 See the Select Bibliography for a number of these sources.

unknown. Since then many important studies have followed. Among the more recent volumes in English of major importance are Higashibaba Ikuo's study of Christian texts and rituals, *Christianity in Early Modern Japan. Kirishitan Belief and Practice* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) and Haruko Nawata Ward's pioneering monograph on *Women Religious Leaders in Japan's Christian Century, 1549–1650* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009). The work by Kawamura Shinzō, *Kirishitan shinto soshiki no tanjō to henyō: "konfurariya" kara "konfurariya" e* [The Birth and Transformation of Christian Lay Structures: From the *Confraternity* to the *Konfurariya*] (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 2003) on how Christian communities were organized is also a key study that focuses on a concrete example of cultural accommodation in Japan at the grass-roots level.

The references quoted above represent but a preliminary list of sources for the study of Christianity in Japan during the early modern period. Together with other sources, both primary and secondary, that I have compiled in the Select Bibliography, they should, however, provide a useful starting point for further research and exploration.

CHAPTER 12

Imperial China and the Christian Mission

R. Po-chia Hsia

12.1 Introduction

Originating in the second half of the 16th century, the mission to China was the longest and most persistent Catholic endeavor in the early modern world beyond the colonial territories of the Iberian empires. Between the 1580s and 1800, about 1,000 missionaries, European and Chinese, worked in this new evangelical territory and ministered up to 300,000 converts at its height. Unlike neighboring Japan, where the mission experienced initially spectacular growth and subsequently savage persecution, Catholicism in China progressed slowly but established communities of the faithful that persisted into modern times, despite sporadic and short periods of persecutions. Unlike the New World, missionaries arrived in China without soldiers and officials of western colonizing powers. More so than elsewhere, European missionaries encountered and accommodated themselves to a civilization that was alien, alluring, and challenging. The tensions between religions, characteristic of the Catholic missions in the Ottoman and Persian empires, and the aggressive spirit toward Hinduism and Islam in South Asia, were altogether less pronounced in Late Imperial China, where state ideology was not determined by allegiance to a single religion. We shall survey, in the following pages, first, the historical sources that exist for the study of Christianity in China, then, the salient characteristics and trends in that scholarship, and finally, give a succinct narrative of that history and highlight some of the significant themes of research.

12.2 Sources

The early modern China mission is richly endowed with historical documentation and unique in its wealth of indigenous sources. These can be further divided into sources written in Chinese and in western languages. In the first category, there are more than 450 Chinese-language texts prepared by missionaries, more than two-thirds on religious subjects (catechisms, prayers, saints' lives, religious treatises, etc.) and the rest on a wide diversity of secular disciplines (mathematics, astronomy, geography, hydrology, botany, art history,

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linguistic, philosophy, etc.) The overwhelming majority of these titles were prepared by Jesuits, with small but significant contributions from Franciscan and Dominican missionaries.[1] A second group of Chinese sources were composed by converts. While fewer in numbers, they offer us an important perspective on the Chinese understanding of Christianity, the reasons for conversion, the nature of piety, and occasionally, the converts' differences with foreign missionaries. In manuscript and in print, these titles are scattered in libraries in Paris, Rome, Shanghai, and St. Petersburg. In the past two decades, thanks to the effort of Ad Dudink, Nicolas Standaert, Huang Yi-Long, Chu Ping-Yi, and Zhang Xiping, a large selection of these texts have appeared in print.[2] A third group of miscellaneous Chinese language documentation came from non-Christian sources. Some represented state papers: imperial edicts, official reports, protocols of interrogations, some beneficial to Christianity, others generated during times of persecution. Most of the extant material have been published.[3] More diverse and harder to access are the private responses to Christianity, ranging from sympathetic Confucian scholars to hostile Buddhist detractors; two such collections have been published by the National Library in Beijing, containing treatises pro and contra Christianity.[4]

This already large body of works is further swelled by an even more voluminous documentation in European languages. Composed in Latin, Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italian, German, Dutch, and Polish, these writings came (with very few exceptions) from the pens of missionaries. The bulk of this consists of reports and letters between missionaries themselves and their

1 See R. Po-chia Hsia, "The Catholic mission and translations in China, 1583–1700," in Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia, (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2007), 39–51, here 39.

2 *Chinese Christian Texts from the Zikawei Library*, (eds.), Nicolas Standaert, Adrian Dudink, Yi-Long Huang, Ping-Yi Chu, 5 vols. (Taipei: 1996); *Chinese Christian Texts from the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus*, (eds.), Nicolas Standaert and Adrian Dudink, 12 vols. (Taipei: 2002); *Chinese Christian Texts from the National Library of France*, (eds.), Nicolas Standaert, Ad Dudink, and Nathalie Monnet, 26 vols. (Taipei: 2009)*; Fandigang tu shu guan cang Ming Qing Zhong xi wen hua jiao liu shi wen xian cong kan*, 梵蒂岡圖書館藏明清中西文化交流史文獻叢刊第一辑, 44 vols, Zhang Xiping, (ed.).

3 *Qing zhong qian qi xi yang Tian zhu jiao zai Hua huo dong dang an shi liao* 清中前期西洋天主教在華活動檔案史料 / 中國第一歷史檔案館編, First Historical Archives, (ed.), 4 vols. (Beiing: 2003).

4 *Ming mo Qing chu tian zhu jiao shi wen xian xin bian* 明末清初天主教史文獻新編 / Zhou, Yan (ed.), 周岩, 3 vols. (Beijing : Guo jia tu shu guan chu ban she, 2013) ; *Ming mo Qing chu Tian zhu jiao shi wen xian cong bian* 明末清初天主教史文獻叢編, 5 vols., Zhou, Erfan, (ed.), 周駢方編校. (Beijing: 2001).

superiors outside China. For the Society of Jesus, who furnished the majority of the personnel among European missionaries, while there are published letter collections of individual Jesuits[5] and the famous series of *Lettres édifiantes*[6] and *Weltbott*,[7] most documentation are still in manuscripts, primarily in the Roman Archive of the Society of Jesus, the Vanve archive of the French Jesuits, and the Ajuda Library in Lisbon.[8] Some annual letters from the 17th century written by Portuguese Jesuits have been published,[9] but they represent only a fraction of the copious documentation still in manuscript.[10] There are also published collections (by no means exhaustive) for the mendicant orders—Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians—with the first being the best preserved.[11] While these religious orders represented the first to work in the China Mission, there were also missionaries sent by the Paris Foreign Missions (Missions Étrangères de Paris) and by the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith. Their extensive documentation are preserved in the respective archives of the two institutions, little of it being in print.

A special category of sources consists of writings concerning the Chinese Rites Controversy. Being the central issue in the China mission between the 1650s and 1720s, the Rites Controversy provoked passionate arguments and representations, from missionaries, converts, and interested parties in Europe. In addition to writings presented by the two opposing groups, the Jesuits and their detractors, there is a substantial polemical literature produced in Europe.

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5 For titles of published letters of individual missionaries, see *Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume One: 635–1800*, Nicolas Standaert, (ed.) (Leiden: 2001), 170–4

6 *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères*. [Collected by Charles le Gobien, J.-B. Du Halde, N. Maréchal, Louis Patouillet, Yves Mathurin Marie Tréandet de Querbeuf.] 34 volumes. (Paris: 1707–1776).

7 *Der neue Weltbott. Allerhand so lehr- als geistreiche Brief/Schriften und Reisbeschreibungen/ welche von denen Missionariis der Gesellschaft Jesu aus beyden Indien/ und andern über Meer gelegenen Ländern ... theils aus handschrifftlichen Urkunden/ theils aus denen frantzösischen Lettres édifiantes verteutscht und zusammen getragen*, etc. 36 parts in 5 vols. (Augsburg/Graz: 1726–58).

8 For Rome, see: Albert Chan, Chinese Books and Documents in the Vesuit Archives in Rome: A Descriptive Catalogue: Japonica-Sinica I–IV (Armonk, NY: 2002). For Lisbon see note 10 .

9 *Cartas Ânuas da China* (*1636, 1643 and 1649*), Horácio P. Araújo, (ed.) (Lisbon: 1998).

10 See the published catalogue for the Jesuit collection of the Ajuda Library: *Jesuítas na Ásia, Catálogo e Guia,* 2 vols. (Lisbon: 1998).

11 The series *Sinica Franciscanas* (with variations in the subtitles) has published 11 volumes of letters by Franciscans missionaries in Ming and Qing China between the years 1933 and 2006. For Dominicans, see José María González, *Hístoria de las Misiones Dominicanas de China* (Madrid: 1968) and his *Dominicanas de China* (*1700–1750*), 2 vols. (Madrid: 1952/58).

While the most important Jesuit source, the *Acta Pekinensis*, is being published; and the writings of some Chinese converts have also been published, the bulk of this material remains relatively unknown and inaccessible in pre-modern editions and manuscripts.[12]

12.3 Historiography

As can be surmised from this voluminous and diverse documentation, scholarship on the Catholic mission in Late Imperial China covers a wide spectrum of questions and themes. There are biographies of individual missionaries and leading converts, the history of a particular religious order in China, regional analysis, liturgical studies, the scientific and cultural exchange conveyed by missionaries, persecutions, and the Rites Controversy. A convenient guide to this research is provided by *Handbook of Christianity*, edited by Nicolas Standaert, which provides a synchronic view of the state of scholarship.[13] In the following section, instead of listing individual titles, I shall give a succinct account of the historical development in this field of research in order to give a contour to its character.

Modern scholarship on the Christian Mission in Late Imperial China is dominated by missiological and national concerns during the first eighty years of the 20th century. Research on Christianity in China, for example, was undertaken almost exclusively by Chinese Christian scholars; the writings of Chen Yuan on Kangxi and Rome, Fang Hao on leading Catholics in Chinese history, and Luo Kuang on the papal emissaries to Qing China represented the best scholarship, which combined the knowledge of Chinese texts and investigation in European archives.[14] Western scholarship often focused on individual missionaries, frequently inspired by national pride: examples

12 *Kilian Stumpf SJ. The Acta Pekinensia or Historical Records of the Maillard de Tournon Legation. First transcribed edition and English annotated translation. Volume I December 1705–August 1706.* Paul Rule and Claudia von Collani, (eds.) (Rome/Macau: 2015), (=Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu Nova Series vol. 9).

13 *Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume One: 635–1800*. (Ed.) Nicolas Standaert (Leiden: 2002),

14 Chen Yuan (eds.), *Kangxi yu Luoma shijie guanxi wenshu* (Taipei: 1974); 陳垣，康熙與羅馬使節關係文書 (台北：文海出版社，1974). Fang Hao, *Zhongguo tianzhujiao shi renwu zhuan* (Hong Kong: 1970–1973), 3 volumes; 方豪, 中國天主教史人物傳(香港：香港公教真理學會, 1970–1973); Luo Guang, *Jiaoting yu zhongguo shijie shi* (Taizhong: 1961); 羅光，教廷與中國使節史(台中: 光啟出版社，1961).

include Pasquale D'Elia's incomparable edition of the writings of the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci,[15] Alfons Väth's biography of the German Jesuit Johann Adam Schall von Bell,[16] and Noel Golver's study of the astronomical work of the Belgian Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest.[17] With the exception of Chen Yuan and Golver, the aforementioned authors were all members of the clergy; the importance of clerical and missionary authorship is reflected also in books that transcended national interests, examples being the study of Ricci and China written by the French Jesuit missionary Henri Bernard[18] or the pioneering study of the Austrian Jesuit Gottfried von Laimbeckhoven and 18th century anti-Christian persecution in Qing China, written by the Jesuit historian Joseph Krahl.[19]

While much of this scholarship is excellent, the scope of questions tends to be limited. The major interest was in the history of Christianity: evangelization and persecution, missionaries and converts, Rome and Beijing. This traditional approach yielded a particularly rich harvest in source editions (more in western language than in Chinese), biographies of missionaries, and the activities of religious orders. Less work was done on the relationship between the history of the Christian mission in China and Chinese society at large, with one major exception. This was the pioneering work of Joseph Needham and Wang Ling on the history of science in pre-modern China. In 1959, they published the volume on mathematics and astronomy, fields in which the Jesuits in China contributed significantly during the 17th and 18th centuries. While interest for the China mission was building slowly in the History of Science, a publication by the leading French Sinologist of the 20th century, Jacques Gernet, provoked wide discussion in general historical circles. *China and the Christian Impact*, the title of the English translation, advanced a thesis: the ontological basis of Christianity and Chinese philosophy (i.e. Confucianism) are fundamentally incompatible.[20] Hence, despite the best intention (or perhaps not) of Jesuit missionaries, this cultural encounter represented a misunderstanding at best, a cultural deception at the worst.

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15 *Fonti Ricciane. Matteo Ricci, Storia dell'Introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina*, 3 volumes. Pasquale D'Elia, (ed.), (Rome: 1942–49).

16 *Johann Adam Schall von Bell SJ. Missionar in China, kaiserlicher Astronom und Ratgeber am Hofe von Peking 1592–1666* (Cologne: 1933; repr. Nettetal: 1991).

17 *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J.* (*Dillingen, 1687*) (Nettetal: 1993).

18 *Le Père Matthieu Ricci et la société chinoise de son temps 1552–1610*, 2 vols. (Tianjin: 1937).

19 *China Missions in Crisis. Bishop Laimbeckhoven and his Times 1738–1787* (Rome: 1964).

20 *Chine et christianisme. La première confrontation. Édition revue et corrigée* (Paris: 1991). Original edition published in 1982.

Gernet published his provocative book in 1982, the 400th anniversary of Ricci's arrival in China. The conference volumes in commemoration of this event, and the lively and original book by Jonathan Spence on Ricci's mnemonic techniques stimulated a wider interest in the history of the Christian mission in China, but they were not responses to Gernet's challenge.[21] Between the 1982 anniversary and 2010 (the 400th anniversary of Ricci's death), Gernet's thesis was substantially revised by scholarship that has gone beyond the sources used in *China and the Christian Impact.* While Gernet used the Chinese writings by Jesuit missionaries and Buddhist polemics against Christianity, there is a wealth of Chinese language sources that was only being studied in the three decades thereafter. These sources reflect the perspectives of a wide spectrum of Chinese society in the Late Ming and early Qing, and include writings by converts, those sympathetic, indifferent, or hostile to Christianity. It is impossible here to discuss in full this development and I shall limit myself to mentioning some of the landmark works in chronological order: Nicolas Standaert's intellectual biography of Yang Tingyun, one of the "Three Pillars" of the first generation of converts,[22] Sun Shangyang's study of Christianity and Late Ming Confucianism,[23] Lin Jinshui's reconstruction of the social network of Ricci among the literati,[24] David Mungello's study of Zhang Xingyao, a late 17th century convert from Hangzhou and a major Christian publicist,[25] Dominic Sachsenmaier's study of Zhu Zongyuan, another important Chinese Christian publicist of the late 17th century,[26] Han Qi's study of the cultural exchange between Jesuit and Chinese scientists,[27] Huang Yilong's pathbreaking prosopography of the first generation of converts,[28] Li Sher-shiueh's study of the genre of Christian exempla in the literary encounter between China and the West,[29]

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21 *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York: 1984).

22 *Yang Tingyun, Confucian and Christian in Late Ming China. His Life and Thought* (Leiden: 1988).

23 *Ji du jiao yu ming mo ru xue* (Beijing: 1994).

24 *Li Madou yu zhongguo* (Beijing: 1996).

25 *The Forgotten Christians of Hangzhou* (Honolulu: 1994).

26 *Die Aufnahme europäischer Inhalte in die chinesische Kultur durch Zhu Zongyuan* (*ca. 1616–1660*) (Nettetal: 2002).

27 *Xichao chongzheng ji, Xichao dingan* (*wai san zhong*), (eds.) Han Qi and Wu Min (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006);《＜熙朝崇正集＞、＜熙朝定案＞（外三种）》（韩琦、吴旻校注）,北京：中华书局，2006. http://sourcedb.cas.cn/sourcedb_ihns_cas/en/pe/200906/t20090602_253824.html

28 *Liang Tou she : Ming mo Qing chu de di yi tai Tianzhu jiaotu* (Xinzhu: 2005).

29 Li Shixue (Li Sher-shiueh), *Zhongguo wan ming yu ouzhou wenxue : Mingmo Yesuhui gudian xing zhengdao gushi kaoquan*, (Beijing: 2010);《中國晚明與歐洲中世紀：明末耶穌會西洋古典型證道故事考詮》.

and Erik Zürcher's edition and analysis of one of the most important Chinese sources, a late Ming Christian Journal kept by Li Jiubiao, a disciple of the Jesuit Giulio Aleni.[30]

Three decades after Gernet, we realize the complexity of Christian conversion in Late Imperial China cannot be encapsulated by the bold thesis of fundamental philosophical incommensurability. More than ever before, the exploration of Chinese language sources have informed the latest scholarship, whether it be the study of the Chinese Rites Controversy or a biography of Ricci.[31] New and important works have also appeared in the field of History of Science, the Portuguese Jesuit Mission, and in deep and detailed regional studies.[32] The interaction between Catholic missionaries and Chinese society touched on issues that reached far beyond religion, philosophy, and language; and future research will continue to broaden the context of that investigation.

12.4 Laying the Foundations

Without interruption, Beijing, the imperial capital of the Ming (1368–1644) and the Qing (1644–1911) dynasties, welcomed the presence of the Society of Jesus between 1601 and 1773. The first date refers to the securing of a permanent residence by the Italian missionary Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) and the second to the dissolution of the Old Society of Jesus by papal order.

The Italian Ricci left Europe in the midst of an intensifying conflict between Protestants and Catholics. And even though the new religious order, the Society of Jesus, contributed significantly to stemming the Protestant tide and the restoration of Catholic fortunes, its aim, according to the intentions of the original founder, St. Ignatius of Loyola, was evangelization and the salvation

30 *Kouduo richao. Li Jiubiao's Diary of Oral Admonitions. A Late Ming Christian Journal*. 2 vols. (Nettetal: 2007).

31 Nicolas Standaert, *Chinese Voices in the Rites Controversy. Travelling Books, Community Networks, Intercultural Arguments* (Rome: 2012); R. Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City. Matteo Ricci 1552–1610* (Oxford: 2010).

32 Florence C. Hsia, *Sojourners in a Strange Land: Jesuits and Their Scientific Missions in Late Imperial China* (Chicago: 2009); Liam M. Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: 2007). Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars. Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: 2009); Zhang Xianqing, *Guanfu, zongzu yu Tianzhu jiao: shiqi-shijiu shiji Fuan xiangcun jiaochui de lishi xushi* (Beijing: 2009); 張先清，官府，宗族與天主教：17–19世紀福安鄉村教會的歷史敘事.

of souls. A generation of Jesuit missionaries had already followed the footsteps of St. Francis Xavier, one of the original companions of St. Ignatius, and betook to Asia in the ships of Portuguese merchants to harvest souls in lands that had not heard of the Christian Gospels. In 1583, Ricci joined Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) in the first Jesuit foothold in inland China, venturing forth from the Portuguese enclave of Macao. In 1601, after a long period of struggle and frustration, Ricci crowned his gradual ascent in the ladder of social success in Ming China by reaching the imperial capital of Beijing, where he was received as a foreign envoy bearing gifts for the Emperor Wanli. Ricci received an imperial stipend and upon his death in 1610 was honored by an imperial grant of land for his burial. In spite of Ricci's success, the Jesuits had not yet gained a foothold in the the imperial court. That would come in the next generation.

Under the patronage of the high mandarin Xu Guangqi (1562–1633), a convert and close friend of Ricci, the first Jesuits were summoned to the court of Emperor Chongzhen in 1629 and served in the newly created Calendar Office for the emendation of the Imperial Calendar. Three Jesuits—Johann Schreck (1576–1630), Giacomo Rho (1592–1638), and Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592–1666)—collaborated with Chinese mandarins, many of whom became converts, in presenting their astronomical work to the emperor. This was known as the *Chongzhen Calendar Compendium*, which synthesizes Chinese and European methods of date calculations. Thanks to this effort, the Jesuits succeeded in maintaining their position when the capital city fell in 1644, first to a peasant rebel army, and then to the conquering Manchu, a people from the Northeast beyond the Great Wall. The German Schall, the only surviving member of the Jesuit mathematicians, was confirmed in his appointment at the new Directorate of Astronomy, placed under the Ministry of Rites, one of the six ministries of the central imperial administration.

12.5 Science and Conversion in China

From their beginning of their mission, the Jesuits were well known in China as men of learning, especially as scientists. They owed their prestige, advancement, and patronage to their scientific expertise. Expanding from their first engagement in astronomy, later generations of Jesuits also worked as civil and military engineers, musicians, painters, engravers, physicians, clockmakers, geographers, and cartographers. Regularly called upon for imperial service, the Jesuits themselves often lamented the distraction from their evangelization. Nevertheless, the consensus within the Jesuit China Mission was that the

security of Christianity itself depended on the favors of emperors, and that science represented a perfectly legitimate handmaiden for the true religion.

Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the book, *European Astronomy* (1687), written by the Belgian Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–88), the successor to Schall as Director of the Directorate of Astronomy. In this book, Verbiest did not narrate so much the introduction of western astronomy to China, but rather the political triumph of the Jesuits over their enemies, thanks to the superiority of European science. As Director of the Directorate of Astronomy between 1644 and 1666, Schall was the first Jesuit in China to achieve a mandarin office, and a very high one at that. The elderly German became a confidant and friend of the first Manchu emperor, Shunzhi, who had lost his father as a young man, and who looked upon the westerner, with his formidable white beard, as a kindly and authoritative figure. In 1660 Schall called the young Verbiest to assist him in Beijing, thus launching the career of another Jesuit-astronomer, whose brilliance eventually rivaled his own.

At the height of his influence, Schall fell from power when Shunzhi died in 1661. The close and personal relationship between emperor and Jesuit, and Schall's high mandarin appointment, stirred up enormous ill-will and jealousy. In the ensuing political struggles during the minority reign of the emperor Kangxi, the son of Shunzhi, Schall came under attack, for alleged inaccurate prognostications and the introduction of heterodox western/Christian teachings. The old astronomer, Verbiest, and other Jesuits in Beijing were arrested; all western missionaries were rounded up and taken to Guangdong province in the south in preparation for eventual expulsion; and it seemed Christianity was doomed. The two leading opponents of the Jesuit astronomers were the Confucian scholar and mandarin Yang Guangxian, who resented the alien influence of the westerners and Wu Mingxuan, a Chinese Muslim astronomer, who first raised the charge of false astronomical readings against Schall. By being involved in a tangled web of factional and political interests, the so-called Calendar Case had significance beyond rival astronomical and intellectual systems. Its resolution to the advantage of the Jesuits, however, would hinge on the superior astronomical knowledge of Schall's successor, the Belgian Verbiest.

In 1664, the young emperor took charge. Kangxi ordered the rival astronomers to make predictions of the sun's position. By observation of the sun using the gnomen and by meticulous calculations, Verbiest awed the court by three successful demonstrations. His opponents, failing to match his skills, were imprisoned. The Imperial Calendar was entrusted to Verbiest, and over strong opposition, he succeeded in amending the Chinese Lunar Calendar by the deletion of an intercalary month. Appointed as Director of the Directorate

of Astronomy with charge of 160 officials, Verbiest was elevated in rank and showered with imperial honors, the only other Jesuit to have achieved the same high mandarin status as his mentor Schall. In the years of service after the restitution of Christianity, Verbiest worked tirelessly both to serve his master, the Kangxi emperor, and to promote Christianity. The key, for Verbiest, was western science: astronomy had saved the faith, and in her wake, the other muses—mathematics, geometry, hydraulics, music, meteorology, ballistics—labored to entice the Chinese emperor to lend his ears to the true faith. All this work was put to paper around 1678, in Latin, compiled and edited from Verbiest's extensive scientific publications in Chinese, and eventually published in 1687 in Europe.

12.6 Converts

The first Chinese baptized by Ruggieri and Ricci was a dying beggar on the streets of Zhaoqing; the first community of converts was formed by those attracted to the persona of these exotic "Indian" monks. No more than a few hundred in the first decade of the Jesuit Mission, Chinese converts to Christianity comprised mostly fervent Buddhists, and it is unclear how much they understood Christianity to be a religious practice fundamentally different from Buddhism. After the change of missionary tactics in 1593—from Buddhist assimilation to Confucian identification—the Jesuit Mission attracted more adherents and friends from elite society. Much of this had to do with Ricci's own personal success, as he built a network of princes, mandarins, scholars, literati, and students among his friends. By the time of his death in 1610, there were perhaps two thousand converts. Even though the elites formed a numerical minority, they provided political protection and their high social profile raised the prestige of this foreign religion. Among the scholar-officials of the first generation of converts were the so-called Three Pillars, Xu Guangqi, Li Zhizhao, and Yang Tingyuan. During the 1620s, Xu rose to the rank of Grand Secretary, the highest civil service post; his personal prestige provided a strong impetus for the growth of Christianity in the last decades of the Ming dynasty.

12.7 The Jesuit Mission: A Cross-Sectional View

Under Kangxi's reign, the Jesuit China Mission reached its apogee in the years between 1665 and 1705. The first date saw the triumph of the Jesuits over their accusers at court in the Calendar Case; the second refers to the formal

prohibition of Christian evangelization by Kangxi as a result of the Chinese Rites Controversy, on which more will be said. The number of Jesuits in China reflects the fortunes of the Jesuit China Mission. In 1590, when Ricci was still struggling to get recognized in Guangdong province, there were only four Jesuits in China. That number rose to twenty-three, on the eve of the Society's breakthrough at the imperial court, and fluctuated little until the 1664–5 Calendar Case. Old age and death reduced the Jesuit number to 21 by 1679, despite the reversal of adverse political fortunes. The publication of Verbiest's *European Astronomy* helped to initiate a major recruitment campaign among the Jesuit colleges in Europe. Its success is reflected in the steady flow of new Jesuit missionaries to China, raising the strength to 33 in 1690, 45 in 1696, 67 in 1700, reaching the high tide of 82 Jesuits in 1701, prior to the gradual ebbing following the Chinese Rites Controversy between Rome and Beijing. For the period up to 1720, the Society of Jesus furnished more than two-thirds of all European missionaries sent to China. Between 1583 and 1723, a total of 563 Jesuits left Europe for China: a few perished en route, some eventually worked in India, Southeast Asia, or Japan, leaving a final and minimum figure of 288 European Jesuits active in the China Mission in this period.[33]

From their exclusive role in the China field in the beginning, the Society had to share their harvest of souls after the 1630s with other religious orders: the mendicant orders began arriving in the 1630s; the Paris Foreign Missions and priests from the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith joined the effort after the 1670s. Nonetheless, the Society of Jesus constituted the single most important religious order in the China mission, constituting approximately 50% of all Catholic clergy between 1582 and 1800.

The Jesuits differed from the other religious orders in one major aspect: theirs was the only truly international order. Based in the Spanish Philippines, the mendicant orders had an overwhelming Spanish presence, while the Paris Foreign Missions (MEP), as the name suggests, was exclusively French, and the Propaganda Fide priests were mostly Italian by origins. In contrast, Jesuit missionaries in China were recruited from all Catholic countries in Europe: they came from Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Spanish Netherlands (today Belgium), Catholic Germany (with heavy representations from the Rhineland

33 Figures from J. Dehergne, *Répertoire des jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Rome/Paris, 1973) as revised by Pascale Girard, *Os Religiosos ocidentais na China na Época Moderna* (Macau, 1999), 171–3. Girard includes only the major nationalities in her revised calculation; a handful of Polish and Swiss Jesuits are not included in her list. The actual number of Jesuits working in China would be slightly higher when they and the Macaist Jesuits are included.

and Bavaria), Austria, Bohemia, and Poland. The three largest nations were the Portuguese, French, and Italians, although the small numbers of Germans and Belgians belied the significant role these fathers would play in the scientific and cultural accomplishments of the Jesuit Mission.

The previous paragraphs have made clear the importance of Jesuit courtiers in Beijing: through imperial service, these Jesuit scientists provided protection for the other Jesuit residences in the vast Chinese empire. Prior to 1705, the Jesuit China Mission was to some extent distinguished between capital and province, science and evangelization. Superiors of the Mission were careful to call for trained scientists, physicians, artists, and musicians to be selected from the Jesuit missionary candidates, in order to ensure a steady pool of talent for imperial service. Life in the Jesuit residences in the provinces, however, would focus more on the routine tasks of evangelization and ministry, which often assumed heroic dimensions, given the enormous ratio between clergy and neophytes. The administration of sacraments often entailed almost incessant travel as a result of the ecclesiastical geography of the Chinese Church. Except for the larger urban centers such as Shanghai, Beijing, and Hangzhou, Christian communities tended to be widely dispersed, the more so in rural areas and in the mountainous interior provinces. Based on the ratio of clergy to the laity, the workload of the individual Catholic missionary was between ten and forty times of that of his counterpart in the urbanized regions of 17th century Catholic Europe.

12.8 Jesuit Writings in China

The Jesuit Mission produced an impressive corpus of works, a direct result of the intensive language training of the Society. By 1700 Jesuit authors and translators had produced more than 200 scientific, liturgical, catechistic, theological, spiritual, humanistic, and geographical works in classical and colloquial Chinese. In addition, as a direct result of their studies of the *Four Books*, and the accumulative effort of several generations of Jesuit scholars, the Confucian canon was introduced to Europe by the *Sapientia Sinica* (1662), compiled and translated by Inácio da Costa (1603–1666) and Propsero Intorcetta (1625–1696), and the *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (1687), compiled mainly by Philippe Couplet (1622–1693), based on the work of previous Jesuits.

The list of Jesuit Chinese titles dwarfs the other religious orders: in 1707 the Jesuit printing press in Beijing had published 212 Chinese books composed or translated by the fathers (123 titles in religious subjects, and 89 in secular

subjects); Jesuit presses in the residence of Fuzhou had published 51 titles, in Hangzhou another 40.[34]

Translations on religion, for example, included prayers, liturgical texts (missal, breviary), works of theology, hagiographies, catechisms, rules of confraternities, and devotional texts. Scientific translations covered astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, hydraulics, weaponry, anatomy, optics, falconry, and musicology. Finally, there are a handful of texts that introduced fragments of Greco-Roman texts to Chinese readers of the 17th century-.

Religious texts included translations from the Roman liturgy for the use of the Chinese Church (special Chinese language liturgy was authorized in 1615 by the papacy but later rescinded in the late 17th century). Works translated included the *Missale Romanum* (1670), *Breviarium Romanum* (1674), and the *Manuale ad sacramenta ministranda juxta ritum S. Romae Ecclesiae* (1675), all translated by Ludovico Buglio (1606–82). Prayer translations and accompanying commentaries included the Lord's Prayer, the Rosary, and the Credo. A compilation of Christian prayers, the *Tianzhu shengjiao nianjing zongdu*, published by the Jesuits in 1628, contained the usual daily prayers in addition to many texts by the Spanish mystic Luís de Granada.[35] The most important theological work to be translated were parts of Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*. In addition to works introducing the lives of the Virgin Mary and Joseph (the patron saint of China), Jesuits also published a Saints' Life and separate hagiographies on St. Josephat, St. Nepomok, St. Francis Borgia, St. Francis Xavier, St. Stanislas Kostka, and St. Aloysius of Gonzaga. These texts were based on European originals, although the precise texts still need to be established. Devotional texts included Thomas à Kempis' *Imitatio Christi*, translated by the Portuguese Jesuit Emmanuel Diaz in 1640 and aphorisms by St. Teresa of Avila and St. Bernard.

In the translations of scientific texts, the most important works were in the fields of astronomy and mathematics, all completed before 1640, during the early decades of the Jesuit Mission. The first six books of Euclid's *Geometry* was the earliest text to be translated, the product of the close collaboration between Ricci and Xu Guangqi; it was well received by Chinese mathematicians into the 18th century.

Under the Qing emperor Kangxi (reign 1662–1722), several Jesuits served as imperial tutors. Although several European mathematical texts were translated for the instruction of the emperor, they were never published. After 1700 the Jesuit Mission saw few scientific translations. One exception was in the

34 Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Manuscrits Chinois 7046.

35 *Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume One: 635–1800*. (Ed.) Nicolas Standaert (Leiden: 2002), 616.

theory of painting: the Jesuit painter Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766) collaborated with Nian Xiyao to translate the *Perspectiva pictorum* (1706) by the Jesuit artist Andrea Pozzo; the Chinese work, *Shixue*, appeared in 1729 and contributed to the reception of perspectival painting in 18th century China.

Only a handful of the Greco-Roman texts were translated into Chinese. These texts, based on the humanistic curriculum of the *Ratio Studiorum*, familiar to all Jesuit missionaries, could further be divided into the genres of rhetoric and philosophy. Ricci's highly successful *Jiaoyou lun* (1595) or *De Amicitia* was based on Andreas Eborensis' *Sententiae et Exempla*, an aphoristic collection from the writings of Cicero, Seneca, and other classical authors.[36] Another of Ricci's text, the *Ershiwu yan* (1605), or *The Twenty-Five Sayings*, represented a translation of a Latin version of the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus.[37]

12.9 The Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuits

The apogee of Jesuit success represented the symbiosis between emperor and missionary. Born in 1654, the Kangxi Emperor (reign 1661–1722) was the ruler who enjoyed the longest rule in Chinese history. Emerging from the shadow of his minority and the tutelage of a regency council after 1665, the youthful emperor took a liking to the westerners in his service. Possessing a highly intelligent and inquisitive mind, the young emperor was attracted to the knowledge and persons of the leading Jesuit courtiers. Their knowledge of the theoretical and practical sciences was unmatched by Manchu or Chinese scholars; the ways of the West offered fresh subjects for the inquisitive ruler, who was already well versed in the languages and cultures of his Manchu and Chinese subjects. From the 1670s onwards, a small group of Jesuit courtiers would tutor Kangxi: Verbiest and the Italian Philip Grimaldi (1638–1712) in mathematics and astronomy, and the Portuguese Thomas Pereira in music. Set in Kangxi's private study, these tutorials nurtured a sense of trust and intimacy; and the emperor began to look upon his Jesuit servants as informal councilors unfettered by the rules of bureaucratic politics. Three developments in particular deepened Kangxi's confidence in his Jesuit servants and would contribute to the imperial patronage that nurtured the golden age of Christianity between 1690 and 1705. The first was the help rendered by Verbiest in quelling the major rebellion that challenged Kangxi's rule; the second referred to the Jesuits' role in the diplomacy

36 For full classical references in Ricci's text, see the critical edition by Filippon Mignini, Matteo Ricci, *Dell'amicizia* (Macerata: 2005).

37 *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 605.

between the Qing empire and western powers; and the third represented the medical cures provided by French Jesuits that saved Kangxi's life.

In 1673, three princes rose in rebellion against the Kangxi Emperor. Han Chinese commanders who had defected to the Manchu invaders, the three generals led the Qing conquest of China and were subsequently rewarded by grants of large feudatory holdings in south and southwestern China. Fearing a reduction of their autonomy as the Qing state began to consolidate power, they rose in rebellion in 1673. This was the most serious crisis faced by the young emperor. Kangxi asked Verbiest for help. The Belgian Jesuit supervised the casting of hundreds of new cannons, weapons crucial in the pacification of the rebellion of the Three Feudatories. From his native Spanish Netherlands, a land afflicted by warfare between 1568 and 1715, Verbiest might well have learned the rudiments of military engineering in the most densely urbanized region of Europe, with its highly developed technological and artisanal culture.

A second contribution of Jesuits to Qing statecraft was in diplomacy. Kangxi used the fathers as interpreters during the Portuguese and Dutch legations to Beijing. And as Russian expansion reached the Amur River in the 1680s, threatening the northern boundary of the ancestral lands of the Manchu, the emperor again employed the Jesuits to pacify the Russians. Backed by a strong show of force, the Qing empire persuaded the Russians to a peaceful border settlement. In 1689, two Jesuits, the Portuguese Thomas Pereira and the French Jean-François Gerbillon (1654–1707) traveled with the Qing army to the fort Nerchinsk, which the Russians had built on the Amur River. Negotiating in Latin, the Jesuits helped in the successful conclusion of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, which stabilized Sino-Russian relations until 1860.

The third success scored by the Jesuits outshone even their contributions to Qing statecraft: their medical expertise saved the life of Kangxi. In November 1692 Kangxi came down with fever. The emperor had survived an attack of smallpox as a child, a disease that had killed his father, the Sunzhi Emperor. There was fear the symptoms reflect a fatal attack. Keeping his illness a secret, Kangxi summoned the French Jesuits Gerbillon and Joachim Bouvet (1656–1730), and recalled the medically trained Jean de Fontaney (1643–1710) from Nanjing. Using quinquine, the French Jesuits cured Kangxi's intermittent fever. Three Chinese physicians were punished with exile for prescribing nothing; the two French Jesuits were rewarded with a house in the Imperial city, and their estimation rose even higher in the eyes of the emperor.[38]

38 Letter of P. de Fontaney to P. de la Chaize, 1703 Feb. 15. *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses écrites de missions etrangères, par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus*. 7. Recueil (Paris: 1707), 176–92, 222–232.

12.10 From Toleration to Prohibition

In 1691, news of a local persecution of Christians in Hangzhou reached the Jesuits in Beijing. Pereira and Gerbillon petitioned Songgotu, the high-ranking Manchu nobleman who led the Nerchinsk negotiations and who had befriended the two Jesuits during the long voyage. Mindful of their service during the recent diplomacy with the Russians, Kangxi overruled the objection of his Chinese mandarins and proclaimed in 1692 an edict of toleration. In this brief text, the emperor explicitly stated the loyal service rendered to his father by the late Adam Schall, and to him by the late Verbiest and by the present Jesuits at court. And since Christianity was not an evil teaching that incited rebellion, it would seem unreasonable to forbid its open exercise when subjects of the emperor could freely worship in Buddhist, Daoist, and Lamaist temples.

Hailed as "the greatest triumph of Christianity in our century" by Charles le Gobien, Superior of the Parisian Province of the Jesuits, the 1692 Edict represented in fact only a privilege conceded by the emperor to his western servants for their loyal service. Exaggerated in Jesuit propaganda, this act of imperial benevolence seemed to prefigure, to the wishful-thinking of many Jesuit missionaries, the imminent conversion of Kangxi. Such was the background to the publication of a celebratory biography of Kangxi in 1696 as a sagacious ruler, a philosopher-king, by Louis Le Comte (1655–1728), a French Jesuit who had returned to France from China.

Fantasy of a Chinese Constantine notwithstanding, the Edict of 1692 inaugurated the golden years of the Catholic mission in China for more than a dozen years. Imperial favors multiplied, the number of converts grew, and more Jesuits entered the Qing Empire. All these positive developments occurred while the newly arrived French Jesuits were embroiled in a bitter dispute with their Portuguese *confreres* over the establishment of an independent French Jesuit Mission, subject only to their superior in France and to Louis XIV, and not to the Jesuit Vice-Province of China that stood under Portuguese protection. After many vexations, recriminations, and petitions, and under intense political pressure, the Spaniard Tyrus Gonzales, General of the Company in Rome, resolved the matter in favor of the French Jesuits. This came not a moment too soon, for all Jesuits in China—Portuguese, French, Italian, German, or Belgian—faced a fierce assault from their rivals in the other missionary orders.

Without exaggeration, we can say that the Chinese Rites Controversy overturned the achievements of the Jesuit Mission and caused the decline of Christianity in China. It originated in the early 1640s, when the first mendicant friars—Spanish missionaries from the Philippines—were perplexed

to witness the participation of Chinese converts at rites honoring ancestors. Questioning the Jesuit interpretation of these rites as civic and pious acts, devoid of religious content, a view shared by the overwhelming majority of Chinese converts, the friars undertook their own theological and ethnographic investigations into Chinese rites honoring ancestors and Confucius. This anxiety over rituals became a hot ecclesiastical-political issue when the Dominican Juan Bautista de Morales presented "Seventeen Questions" in 1643 to the papacy attacking the Jesuit compromise with Chinese ritual practices. The result was the first papal decree of 1645 that prohibited the practices described by Morales. In response, the Jesuit China Mission sent Martino Martini (1614–61) to Rome to remonstrate that the friars have misrepresented their position. A second papal decree ensued in 1656 to sanction the ritual practices as set forth by Martini.

With the contest between the fathers and the friars resulting in a draw, the arrival of French clerics of the MEP tipped the balance against the Company. Espousing a strongly Gallican and anti-Jesuit position, Charles Maigrot, Doctor of the Sorbonne and Vicar Apostolic of Fujian, lent his authority against the ritual practices of the Jesuit led congregations. From his arrival in Fujian in 1684 to his interdiction of the Chinese rites in 1693, Maigrot provoked enormous ill-will and resistance, both from the Chinese Christian communities and from the Jesuits. He played a pivotal role that led to the dispatch and disastrous outcome of the papal legate Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon, whose visit to China (1704–7) coincided with the most heated phase in the Rites Controversy. The 1704 decree, formulated by a commission of cardinals in Rome and promulgated by Tournon in China, forbade a long list of habitual practices in the Chinese Catholic Church: the terms of *tian* and *shangdi* (two terms that occur frequently in the ancient Chinese classics) to denote God; the use of the characters *jing tian* (respect Heaven) bestowed by the Emperor Kangxi to decorate churches; the participation of Christians in "sacrificial" rites honoring Confucius and ancestors; the inscription of the characters *shen wei* (seat of the spirit) on the wooden tablets bearing the name of dead ancestors. All these prohibitions, on the threat of excommunication, were reiterated by Pope Clement XIV in 1715, the year that marked the effective end of the Chinese Rites Controversy.

Before the visit of Tournon to China, Emperor Kangxi had sought to compromise with the papacy through the dispatch of several Jesuits as imperial legates to Rome. During the papal legate's visit to China, Kangxi became so irritated with the persons of Tournon and Maigrot, the latter in the legate's entourage in Beijing, and with the legate's pronouncements on Chinese rites, that he forbade further Christian proselytizing in China, reversing his edict of 1692.

Still allowed to practice their religion, decreed Kangxi in 1707, all foreign missionaries must travel to Beijing to be certified: to remain in China, they must promise to abide by the way of Father Ricci and never leave China. The Dominicans, Augustinians, and the missionaries of the MEP left China; the Franciscans were split between obedience to the pope and emperor; and among the Jesuits, the vast majority accepted the conditions imposed by Kangxi and received imperial certification.

While Chinese were legally forbidden to practice Christianity, in reality, the suppression of Christianity depended on the zeal and attitude of local officials. In the provinces, the remaining missionaries and Christians kept a low profile, and most officials did not actively enforce the prohibition. In the capital, where the Jesuits lived under imperial protection, Chinese Christians openly attended church service. Toleration aside, the abrogation of the Edict of 1692 would eventually lead to sharpened legislation and active suppression during the reigns of Kangxi's son and grandson—the emperors Yongzhen and Qianlong—during the 18th century.

In these momentous times, the close relations between Kangxi and his Jesuit servants continued as before. The year after the imperial certification, 1708, also saw the beginning of the large-scale mapping of the Qing Empire supervised by Jesuit scientists. The project, which took almost a decade to complete, was jointly undertaken by Jesuits from the French Mission and from the Portuguese Vice-Province, who persisted in their loyal service to a benevolent emperor.

12.11 Christianity and Chinese Society

During the first five years of the Christian mission in Guangdong province (1583–88), Ruggieri and Ricci made about 80 converts. These were overwhelmingly Buddhists. In fact, they were drawn to the Jesuits in large measure because Ruggieri and Ricci donned Chinese Buddhist robes, shaved their hair and beards, and presented themselves as monks from India, and presented images (Virgin Mary), prayers (Rosary beads), and soteriological dogmas (Heaven and Hell, sin and punishment) highly reminiscent of Buddhism. The very first Christian text in Chinese, the *Tianzhu Shilu* (A Veritable Record of the Lord of Heaven), composed by Ruggieri with the help of his Chinese tutor, frequently used Buddhist terms to describe the birth, preaching, and death of Christ. In the title page Ruggieri identified himself as *seng*, the term understood to mean the Buddhist sangha.

It was only when Ricci repudiated the Buddhist persona and adopted that of the western scholar that the social profile of Christian conversion began to change. As Ricci climbed the ladder of social success, elites of Late Ming society joined the growing ranks of converts. The mere droplets of the 1580s had turned into a brook of 2,500 converts by the time of Ricci's death in 1610, distinguished by the presence of some mandarins and literati, a source that Ricci had hoped would irrigate the newly cultivated missionary field of China. His hopes were not misplaced. During the first half of the 17th century, the intellectual fervor, and the social and political crisis of Late Ming China made Christianity attractive to many. The number of converts rose from 13,000 in 1628 to 70,000 in 1644; after a setback due to the Manchu invasion and the demographic catastrophe of mid-century, the trend of growth continued. Between the 1670s and 1710 were also years of rapid growth, with Christians increasing from 80,000 to ca. 200,000. In 1705 Emperor Kangxi forbade his subjects to become Christians, in reaction to the maladroit prohibitions of the so-called Chinese Rites (rites in honor of ancestors and Confucius) by the Catholic Church. The rate of conversion dropped sharply, with interest in Christianity among the elites and literati shrinking noticeably. For much of the period of official prohibition of Christianity (1705–1842), the number of Christians probably did not exceed 400,000; and this in a period when the population of China more than doubled.

Despite their small numbers, the Christian communities exhibited a strong sense of cohesion. Outside of the centers of Beijing and Shanghai, and the traditional communities established in Guangdong, Fujian, and Shanxi, Christianity had expanded to the southwest provinces of Sichuan and Yunnan. This clandestine Church, short of clergy, developed strong community structures under lay leadership. Mirroring the social hierarchy in society at large, leadership in local churches was represented by the gentry, scholars, and merchants in urban areas, and by the elders of the leading clans and families in the countryside. A prominent feature in Chinese Christianity, one that also reflected social values, was the segregation of the sexes in worship and in sacramental life. The small size of the Christian community meant compromises with the larger society. Unlike in Chinese Islam, endogamy proved impossible in many Chinese Christian communities: in many villages, consanguinity and social ties rendered it impossible for Christian families to arrange church weddings for their children. In one aspect, however, Christianity inspired a strong resistance to traditional social forces: the segregation of the sexes in religious life gave rise to the formation of female sodalities in China in which pious young girls and women refused marriage in the name of religious devotion, modeling themselves after the *beatae* of Catholic Europe.

Thanks to its strong communal characteristics, Christian communities in China survived the prohibition of evangelization. After 1705, with the exception in Beijing, churches were seized and converted into schools and temples, western missionaries in the provinces went into hiding, but religious life continued for the most part, tolerated, ignored, or unknown by local officials. Kangxi died in 1723. The succession struggle unleashed another crisis. The new emperor Yongzhen (reign 1722–35) prevailed against a brother who was supported by a powerful Manchu noble family, the Sunu, many of whom were converts; the intrigue of a Portuguese Jesuit exacerbated matters. The Sunus were exiled, losers in a political struggle, but celebrated as Christian martyrs in Jesuit letters; the Jesuit, João Mourão, was executed, a death remembered in embarrassed silence in missionary records. Still, Christian communities remained largely undisturbed, laws decreed were not always vigorously enforced. However, in 1746, the zeal of a governor in Fujian changed all that.

The discovery of a covert Spanish missionary unleashed a manhunt, In the end, five Dominican friars and more than a dozen Chinese catechists and Christian leaders were arrested. Interpreting the anti-Christian law rigorously (the death penalty was not stipulated in the original ban), the governor quietly executed the missionaries in prison before the Jesuits in Beijing could intervene to secure an imperial pardon. Two years later, it was the turn of the Jesuits to suffer martyrdom when a dispute between two Christians in Suzhou led to the denunciation, arrest, and quick executions of two Jesuits. These cases had the following in common: both were zealously prosecuted by anti-Christian provincial mandarins, interpreting and executing the law rigorously; and in both cases, the missionaries at the imperial court failed to secure an imperial pardon. Nonetheless, these instances of persecutions did not reflect a new hostility of the Emperor Qianlong (reign 1735–96), grandson of Kangxi, who enjoyed the service of western missionary painters and musicians at court. Rather, a combination of local circumstances and the indifference at court sealed the fate of the missionaries. In 1752, officials in Hubei province initiated another hunt for Christians, alarmed by a mistaken notion that a local rebellion was in collusion with Christianity. This time, the emperor intervened, instructing his mandarins that the two had nothing to do with one another.

Officially banned by the Qing state, the Christian mission was sustained by the two poles of Beijing and Macau. In the imperial capital, worshippers openly attended mass at all four Christian churches, a practice tolerated by Qianlong in reward for the service of his western missionaries. To the best of their abilities, these missionary courtiers exercised discretion in extending protection to missionaries and converts in the provinces, Macau served as the rear base. Couriers from the internal mission traveled to the Portuguese enclave,

carrying letters and reports, and returned to the interior conveying monies letters, supplies, and escorting missionaries, newly arrived from Europe and traveling in disguise.

In 1784, authorities intercepted one of these runs. The emperor was stunned. Enraged that Christianity continued to thrive almost eight decades after declared illegal by his grandfather, Qianlong ordered an anti-Christian campaign in all provinces of the realm. The 1784–5 persecutions represented the gravest crisis of the mission: scores of western missionaries and Chinese priests were arrested, some died in prison; hundreds of converts were punished, by exile, prison, and canning. It came a decade after the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in China, at a time when the mission had lost any effective lobby and protection in the imperial capital. Still, the Christian communities survived, left alone again after this tempest, as the Qing state turned to face graver challenges from Muslim and White Lotus rebellions.

Meanwhile, the Society of Jesus had been suppressed in Europe in 1773. In China, the ex-Jesuits lived in Beijing under imperial protection while Lazarist missionaries took over their churches. Between the 1770s and 1840, with a handful of western missionaries in the country, the proportion of Chinese clergy increased and most Christian communities were guided by strong local lay leadership. In the first years of the 19th century, the first Protestant missionary, the Englishman Robert Morrison (1782–1834), arrived in China and initiated a century of Protestant evangelization supported by Protestant missions in Europe and North America, and that would eventually eclipse the Catholic mission in the number of converts. The prohibition against Christian evangelization was lifted in 1842, when Qing China was defeated by Britain in the First Opium War. This fourth introduction of Christianity into China came with western gunboats and strong-arm diplomacy and brought about a direct confrontation between Chinese culture and Western Christianity, a legacy that has yet to be overcome.[39]

39 The first being the coming of Nestorians to Tang China, the second the coming of Franciscan missionaries to Yuan China, and the third being the Jesuit mission in Late Ming China.

PART 5

The Structures

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CHAPTER 13

Finances of the Missions

Fred Vermote

13.1 Introduction

One of the least studied aspects of early modern Christianity was the financing of the overseas missions; nonetheless, many Jesuit scholars have identified this rather persistent lacuna in Jesuit historiography.[1] As scholars review Jesuit historiography in general, future research on Jesuit finances is time and again suggested, if only to correct some of the more fantastic or mysterious statements regarding Jesuits' presumed riches or poverty. The leap from lack of knowledge regarding this topic to a narrative of 'hidden Jesuit treasures' is not very big.[2] Some of these myths or bold statements regarding Jesuit finances are old, whereas others are relatively new. As the saying ran "in Portuguese Asia, 'guard your wife from the friars, but watch your wallet with the Jesuits.'"[3] Meanwhile, in late 17th century London, many "dug for the Jesuit treasure believed to have been buried at the Savoy … [guided by] astrologers."[4] According to Martin Grene, pamphlets proclaimed that every Jesuit had "the mysterious feather of Lucian's cocks tail in his hand," which allowed for "all closets and cofers [to open], and secrets, and discovers to the Jesuit, the want and wealth of every one, that he may know where to place his labours with thrift."[5] More recently,

1 See Robert A. Maryks and Jonathan Wright's "Editor's Preface: Current Trends in Jesuit Historiography," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1 (2014) 2. Maryks and Wright indicate that both Ronnie Po-chia Hsia and Paul Grendler have noted the neglect regarding this sub-field; see also Nicolas Standaert, "New Trends in the Historiography of Christianity in China," *The Catholic Historical Review* 83:4 (1997): 598. Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge: 2008), 1–19. Golvers in Nicolas Standaert, (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One: 635–1800*, (Leiden: 2001), 290–293.

2 Thomas McCoog, "'Laid up Treasure:' The Finances of the English Jesuits in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Church and Wealth: Papers Read at the 1986 Summer Meeting and the 1987 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, (eds.) W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood, (Oxford: 1987), 257–266.

3 Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 163. As quoted in James S. Cummins, *A Question of Rites: Friar Domingo Navarrete and the Jesuits in China*, (Hants: 1993), 27.

4 McCoog, "'Laid up Treasure,'" 258.

5 Martin Grene, *An Account of the Jesuites Life and Doctrine*, London, 1661, preface to the reader.

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the Jesuit financing of the missions, impressive in terms of (perceived) assets as well as its global reach, have inspired scholars such as Charles Boxer to playfully point out that the Jesuits' economic activities were:

> … far greater in scope than those of either the Dutch or the English East India Companies, which are sometimes termed the first multinationals. Moreover, whereas the directors of both Jan Compagnie and John Company were nationals of their respective nations, the Jesuit Generals at Rome, and the Provincials, superiors, and heads of missions abroad were truly international.[6]

Boxer followed up this statement with one stipulating that the Society was, in a way, the first multinational corporation.[7] Yet, Boxer's assertions did not claim to be academic investigations. Dauril Alden, one of the few specialists on Jesuit finances throughout the Portuguese empire and its missions around the world, politely disagreed with Boxer and insisted that, when closely examined, the operations, organizational structure, and decision-making character of the Society of Jesus bore no discernible resemblance to those of the modern multinational corporation.[8] Alden's seven-hundred-page study, *The Making of an Enterprise*, is one of the few monographs dedicated entirely to Jesuit finances and it illustrates the differences and similarities (real and apparent) between a multinational corporation and the financial administration of Society of Jesus. However, despite Alden's significant contribution, the economic and financial administration of the Jesuit riches particularly in the Far East missions for example were, and still are, shrouded in mystery.[9] This is unlikely to change until more scholarship engages in piecing together the scattered historical evidence on this topic.

This chapter will examine the finances of Jesuit missions by first laying out the historiography of this sub-field within Jesuit studies; secondly, I will discuss the institutional financial structure as the founders of the Society envisioned it in Europe during the 16th century and then investigate how Jesuit finances

6 As quoted in Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, its Empire and Beyond, 1540–1750* (Stanford: 1996), 668. Charles. R. Boxer, *Portuguese India in the Mid-Seventeenth Century* (New Delhi: 1980), 50.

7 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 668.

8 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 669.

9 Alden's work makes great use of the source material available for the Jesuit missions in Brazil. He acknowledges that the sources regarding the economic situation of the Jesuits in the Far East are less organized and incomplete.

of the missions developed as the Jesuit organization expanded globally. As the distance from the Society's center increased, Jesuit missionaries in these peripheral areas needed to rethink the missions' financial organization; thirdly I will provide an overview of the Jesuit finances in the Americas and in Asia, and zoom in on the mission finances of the Jesuit China province. In this last part of the chapter I will analyze who paid for the passage and stipends of the missionaries working far from Rome and other European Jesuit headquarters: was it the pope, the Catholic monarchs, donors in Europe, or local converts? How were funds raised in Europe transferred across continents? How were they invested and used? What relationships existed between European colonial networks and missionary finances?

13.2 State of the Field and Nature of the Sources

Part of writing the history and the historiography of Jesuit finances, is lamenting what scholars do not know, what sources have not survived, and, consequently, what scholars cannot and will never be able to adequately examine with a 'traditional' economic historian's approach. For different reasons, both Jesuits—authors of primary sources and the first to write Jesuit history—and Jesuit historians have neglected the study of Jesuit finances and the history of the people involved or responsible for managing the economic and financial activities of the Jesuit religious enterprise. Jesuit missionaries entered the Society to imitate the example of Francis Xavier; they did not take the father or brother crunching the numbers and balancing the finances as their role model. Or, as Olwen Huften similarly put it, "No Jesuit I have encountered in the records joined the order to keep the books."[10]

From the early stages of Jesuit missions onwards, the Jesuits were sensitive to outsiders' critiques of their institution's resources and financial goods, which did not encourage them to produce or advertise their finances the same way as they did with reports on their evangelizing practices across the world. Lacking or incomplete records of primary sources negatively affected the production of secondary literature on the topic. As for the Chinese missions for example, both Nicolas Standaert and Noël Golvers have recognized the "fragmentary and incomplete sources" as one of the main reasons for the "entire economic situation of Christianity in China [to be] an almost completely

10 Olwen Hufton, "Every Tub on Its Own Bottom: Funding a Jesuit College in Early Modern Europe," in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*, (eds.) John W. O'Malley et al., (Toronto: 2002), 7.

undiscovered field."[11] As a result, only three pages out of 964 in the extensive bibliographic work on Christianity in China, *Handbook for Christianity in China* (2001), assessed the finances of Jesuit missions in China. Dauril Alden widened his scope to the finances of the Jesuit missions throughout the Portuguese "*assistancy*", which included administrative units in Portugal, China, parts of the Indian subcontinent, Japan, Southeast Asia (except the Philippines), Kongo and Angola, and Brazil.[12] When it comes to sources, Alden admits to following "wherever the trail of paper [or historic sources on finances] is thickest," in this case the regions of Portugal, Brazil, and India. For the Far East, Alden relied mostly on secondary sources.[13] As for Dominican and Jesuit missions in Zambezi, East Africa, William Francis Rea comments that the missionaries themselves recorded nothing on material or financial matters except the occasional "incidental reference."[14] Interestingly, Rea does point out that, for the final years of the Jesuit mission, "a considerable amount of material" on their economic activities is available at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon. For India more specifically, Charles Borges in his preface of *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542–1759: An Explanation of Their Rise and Fall*, explains that his study on the economic aspect uses a quantitative method because the data is not complete.[15] Similarly, later scholars such as Julia Lederle can subtract figures showing increasing income (mostly thanks to coconut and rice farming) for the Goa province from existing accounts, however, in contrast to the source material for the Jesuit missions in parts of the Americas, "her sources do not tell us about the methods of cultivation and the labor regime."[16]

Finally, in this cursory review of sources for Jesuit missions globally, the Americas present a different picture. One of the most recent works on the economics of the Paraguayan missions, Julia J. S. Sarreal's *The Guaraní and Their Missions: A Socioeconomic History* (2014), boasts that it will study Jesuit finances in both a quantitative and qualitative manner.[17] Research on the topic in

11 Standaert, "New Trends in the Historiography of Christianity in China," 598. See also Golvers in Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 290–293.

12 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, preface and chapters 3 through 9.

13 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, x. See also David Block's review in *The American Historical Review*, 103:1 (1998): 204–5.

14 William Francis Rea, *The Economics of the Zambezi Missions, 1580–1759* (Rome: 1976), 17–18.

15 Charles J. Borges, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542–1759: An Explanation of Their Rise and Fall* (New Delhi: 1994), 15.

16 Ronnie Po-chia Hsia's historiographical review in *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1, (2014): 62.

17 An exception is Julia J.S. Sarreal's,*The Guaraní and Their Missions: A Socioeconomic History* (Stanford: 2014), 13.

the same larger region yet published during the early 1980s, such as that of Nicholas Cushner, the scholar most active in the field of Jesuit finances for the American missions, states that,

> ... the documentation for the farms and ranches that supported Jesuit colleges in Quito is sufficiently abundant and detailed to enable us to draw a general picture of the development of agricultural capitalism in the region. The income, expenses, and production ledgers of several enterprises span many decades and provide data for long time periods, especially for the 17th and 18th centuries.[18]

In the case of colonial Quito, sources on Jesuit finances are even more complete than sources on "lay owned enterprises," which in turn are scattered and sporadic.[19] Cushner has written two more books on financial or economic history using Jesuit sources: one with a focus on the Jesuit ranches in Argentina and another that examines the Jesuit estates of coastal Peru.[20] Apart from Quito, Argentina, and Peru, Cushner examined the economy of Jesuit missions in other American regions in his last work, where he includes detailed information on the finances of Jesuit farms in Maryland—their land acquisitions, annual incomes, and their integration into the local colonial economy.[21] Cushner's first book, *Spain and the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution* (1971), touches briefly upon the role and relationship of missions and missionaries with the Spanish colonial economy and trade in Spain's only Asian possession.[22] So whereas Alden followed the breadcrumbs within the Portuguese missions and examined the relationship between Portugal's empire and the Jesuit missions, Cushner investigated the interaction between Jesuit missions and the Spanish colonies and their economy's intertwinement. Both scholars study the relationship between the economy and finances of colonial governments and that of Jesuit missions—the role of the Spanish *patronato* (Cushner), the Portuguese

18 Nicholas Cushner, *Farm and Factory: The Jesuits and the Development of Agrarian Capitalism in Colonial Quito, 1600–1767* (Albany: 1982), 15.

19 Cushner, *Farm and Factory*, 15–16.

20 Nicholas Cushner, *Lords of the land: sugar, wine, and Jesuit estates of coastal Peru, 1600–1767* (Albany: 1980); Nicholas Cushner, *Jesuit Ranches and the Agrarian Development of Colonial Argentina, 1650–1767* (Albany: 1983).

21 Nicholas Cushner, *Why Have you Come Here? The Jesuits and the First Evangelization of Native America* (Oxford: 2006), chapter 9.

22 Nicholas Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution* (Quezon City: Rutland, VT: 1971), especially chapters 4 and 6.

padroado (Alden), and the French and English support (Cushner in his 2006 work). Taken together, these two scholars' studies of Jesuit finances are of a spotty but global coverage. Both scholars acknowledge that for some regions they have had lots of sources to work with, while for others much less survived or indeed they only had scant secondary scholarship to rely upon.

Before discussing how both Alden and Cushner maintained as a thread through their work that it was difficult to separate religion and economy, I would like to briefly address future avenues of research in this sub-field of Jesuit studies. As addressed in the first issue of the *Journal of Jesuit Studies* in 2014, the editors, Robert A. Maryks and Jonathan Wright, cite Paul Grendler and John W. O'Malley, S.J. to demonstrate in their preface to the reader that Jesuit history is (once again) "a hot topic."[23] As part of this trend, the sub-field of Jesuit finances is experiencing a resurgence as well. Most recently, in November 2016, Hélène Vu Thanh (UBS), Antonella Romano (CAK), and Ines G. Zupanov (CEIAS) organized an international colloquium "Conquering New Markets: Trade Routes, Conversions, and Missions during the First Globalisation (16th–18th centuries)." The organizers stated that they aimed "to use economic and trade issues as a prism to improve our understanding of missionary engagement and interactions with local populations in a global and comparative approach." In her introduction, Hélène Vu Thanh encouraged the thirteen presenters to think about the following questions: "How did they [missionaries] take part in the circulation of goods? How did they manage the original capital? Foster its growth?" Spread over two days, scholars working on early modern Spain, France, Paraguay, British America, Cape Verde, the Andes, Pondicherry and other places presented on how missionaries during this time engaged in trade, managed material goods, and interacted with trade companies. In addition to this, three junior scholars have recently published (or are in the process of publishing) studies on Jesuit finances in India, Paraguay, and China.[24] All this new scholarship on financial and material conditions of missionaries is part of a modest boost of articles, monographs, and edited studies that will enhance the integration and understanding between this Jesuit history sub-field and other fields such as economic history and the history of material objects.

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23 Maryks and Wright, "Editor's Preface: Current Trends in Jesuit Historiography," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1 (2014) 1.

24 Julia Lederle, *Mission und Ökonomie der Jesuiten in Indien: Intermediäres Handeln am Beispiel der Malabar-Provinz im 18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: 2009); Julia J.S. Sarreal, *The Guaraní and Their Missions: A Socioeconomic History* (Stanford: 2014); Frederik Vermote, *Money and Missionaries in a Global World: The Jesuit Financial Networks between Europe and Asia*, unpublished manuscript, under contract with Brill.

Can we separate religion and economy? Is it possible that the relationship between state and church is partially responsible for scholars' division of attention according to *patronato, padroado*, or another Catholic ruler's involvement with the finances of Jesuit missions? Is support and obstruction to the finances of Jesuit missions only connected to Catholic rulers and their colonial economies or should we widen our perspective and carefully assess the relationship between Jesuit finances and English, Dutch, and Muscovite imperial overseas economies and networks? Finally, does it make sense to think of the Jesuits' 'global finances'?

As for the first question, some Jesuit scholars, in their defense of why we should also study religious actors from an economic perspective, have pointed out that only during the late 18th century the economy was perceived as a distinct entity.[25] Until that time, the profane and the sacred, God and Mammon, were more mixed up than they are today. Jesuit missions consisted of missionary zeal, human resources, and material support. Those last two were part of the responsibility of Jesuit procurators and treasurers. Going back to the Jesuit missions in China, the embedding in and impossibility to separate Jesuit finances from Chinese society is clear from the following statement:

> … though the missionaries themselves remained exponents of European culture and ultimately dependent on material support from ecclesiastical institutions and from the colonial administration, due to the Ming and Qing administration they were largely separated from the trader and colonist and as such were able to establish a unique relationship with different layers of Chinese society.[26]

A more recent study by Noël Golvers analyzes the account book of François de Rougemont, whose missionary work in the Christian communities of China's most economically prosperous province along the Yangtze river took place far from Ricci's, Schall von Bell's, and Verbiest's involvement and exchange with Ming and Qing rulers in Beijing. Golvers comes to the conclusion that de Rougemont's finances were "very closely linked to the [local, Chinese] Christian community" and in isolation from direct European or more global

25 Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 162. See also Robert Scribner, "Cosmic Order and Daily Life: Sacred and Secular in Pre-Industrial German Society," in *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London: 1988), 2. Roland Robertson, "Economics and Religion," *Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: 1987), v. 1–11.

26 Standaert, "New Trends in the Historiography of Christianity in China," 602.

financial support.[27] Golvers' study fits well in a more recent paradigm within Jesuit studies: a focus away from "giants" working at the Ming or Qing courts and towards "overburdened managers" of Chinese Christian communities which all together numbered close to 200,000 converts.[28] It is then no surprise that "the sheer scale of this type of community, though dwarfed by Chinese non-Christian society and economy, must have nonetheless generated an economic and financial system that combined Asian and European resources and benefactors."[29]

The large scale of Jesuit missions—the combination of Christian communities including colleges, farms, ranches, and haciendas—generated wealth and this wealth became a source of criticism and resentment from both Jesuits and outsiders. They too questioned the relationship between religion and economy. This perceived excessive wealth came from many sources: a stake in the silk trade between Macao and Japan, the productivity of the *reductions* in Paraguay, or farms on land grants in Maryland. Ernest J. Burrus wondered whether "the Jesuit economic enterprises in Latin America [would] have aroused as much animosity had they been less efficient and productive …?"[30] Resentment also spoke when the freeholders of Calvert County complained that "the Jesuits … accumulate great wealth, the best estates, [and] extensive possessions."[31] Even though the Society achieved a seemingly instant economic success across the world, the financial situation of some missions—for example in China, New France, France, and England—was the opposite of the accumulated capital and resources of those missions—such as the missions in Paraguay, Quito, and Mexico to name a few—that always caught the eye of the Society's critics. The wealth of some missions would have surprised the Society's founder: Ignatius of Loyola and his companions confined themselves to an austere lifestyle, stipulating that no members should accept payment for their services as priests, and that the Society itself should not own houses or accept rents.[32]

27 Noël Golvers, *François de Rougemont, S.J., Mission in Ch'ang-Shu* (*Chiang-Nan*)*: A Study of the Account Book* (*1674–1676*) *and the Elogium* (Leuven: 1999), 629.

28 Since George Dunne's *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty* (Notre Dame: 1962), Jesuit history has evolved through several different paradigms. Jesuit scholars have increasingly connected Jesuit history in China with other historical fields.

29 See my dissertation, 7.

30 Cushner, *Farm and Factory*, 16.

31 Cushner, *Why did You come Here?,* 185.

32 George E. Ganss, trans., *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: 1970), 35. See also Thomas Cohen, "The Social Origins of the Jesuits 1540–1600," PhD diss., Harvard,

This was a reaction against the ostentatious wealth and the accompanying abuse of this wealth within the higher ranks of the Catholic Church in Europe. However, even before Loyola's death the desired austerity was lost, and, with it, myths about real and perceived riches started circulating among critics of the Society and members of the general public. The issue of how to separate the two or how to bind the overlapping of religion and economy has thus been a hot topic ever since the Society's foundation.

Early on, the Jesuits deemed it necessary to defend their order from this awkward matter by shifting the issue from a separation between religion and economy to a separation between institutional wealth and individual poverty. The first one to make this argument was Martin Grene in his *An Account of the Jesuites Life and Doctrine*, published in 1661, which, in its desire to defend the Jesuits, started its 'rebuttal' with this individual-versus-institutional-wealth-distinction.[33] Future defenders and even Jesuit scholars, such as Serafin Leite, would pick up Grene's line of defense and argue that institutional wealth and personal poverty were not incompatible.[34] Additionally, institutional wealth should not be counted against the Jesuits; improper use of said wealth was however a crime.[35] Further reasoning pointed out that the accumulation of wealth and properties was never 'active': it resulted from charitable donations, so the recipient was 'passive.'[36] None of these arguments defused the incendiary connection between religion and economy. In fact, the Jesuits' institutional wealth became a greater source for resentment as time passed, and whatever "wobbly line" divided Gold from God and Glory was thoroughly wiped out in the 18th century by scandals such as the Lavalette affair.[37]

Antoine Lavalette was assigned to the French Martinique missions in 1741 and became superior general of those missions in 1753.[38] In a fairly short time he engaged in many commercial projects for which he borrowed money from

1974, 53. The Jesuits differed from the mendicants in their refusal to accept any fees for performing sacraments. Mendicant orders were for example the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, Augustinians etc. These religious orders depended directly on the charity of the people for their livelihood.

33 McCoog, "'Laid up Treasure,'" 257.

34 Cushner, *Lords of the land*, 6. Cushner finds this argument unconvincing.

35 McCoog, "'Laid up Treasure,'" 257. Grene, *An Account of the Jesuites Life and Doctrine*, 82.

36 Cushner, *Spain in Philippines*, 99. See also Charles Gibson, *Spain in America* (New York: 1966), 85.

37 Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 99. Cushner, *Why have You Come Here*, 29.

38 D.G. Thompson, "The fate of the French Jesuits' creditors under the ancien régime," *The English Historical Review* 91:359 (1976): 255–277.

investors and speculators both in the Caribbean and France. When he came under investigation for his commercial speculation, which was forbidden in the Jesuit constitutions in clear language, Lavalette incurred even greater debts, finally racking up a 6.2 million *livres* debt by 1762.[39] Even though the early modern period was what Hufton called a debt culture, in which debts were the norm and were paid via income on loans, Lavalette's debt amounted to two-thirds of all the Jesuits' known debts.[40] Initially the superiors in the Jesuit French province tried to repay part of these debts, but when this did not generate enough money, the creditors brought their claims before "the commercial courts in Marseille and Paris and thereby set in motion the legal proceedings which led in the end to the destruction of the Jesuit order."[41] Lavalette's financial gamble illustrates two points in the starkest possible way: one, as discussed in the above paragraphs, the connection between the Jesuit missions' religion and economy did not improve over time. It became so problematic that it contributed to the Society's dissolution; two, it makes no sense to think of the Jesuit finances as a globally integrated system despite a slowly globalizing economy throughout the early modern world period.

The idea of global financial integration was separate from the Society's movement of people, ideas, and goods. The Jesuit missions, while operating on a global scale, were not globally integrated from an economic or financial point of view: it would be anachronistic to assume that this was even a goal envisioned by the Society's founders. Returning to Lavalette's case, one of the reasons why it took so long, nearly forty years, for the creditors to collect the Jesuit debt was that initially the Jesuit administrators refused to pay Lavalette's debts based on canon law and the Jesuit *Constitutions*. That last body of guidelines laid out the financial underpinnings of the Society of Jesus.[42] A "non-solidarity" clause made sure that a Jesuit administrator "had no responsibility for the debts of other foundations [foundations provided money for Jesuit colleges] belonging to his order."[43] Similarly, no money or financial support should be exchanged between the different Jesuit provinces: Rome rarely permitted this kind of interaction. Since Lavalette administered the Jesuit mission of Martinique, his debts were not the Jesuits in France's debts. They could not be held responsible.[44]

39 1 ecu = 3 livres = 60 sou Tournois = 720 denier Tournois. Catherine Manning, *Fortunes à Faire: The French in Asian Trade, 1719–48* (Alderschot: 1996), Index VI.

40 Thompson, "The fate of the French Jesuits' creditors," 257.

41 Thompson, "The fate of the French Jesuits' creditors," 259.

42 Ganss, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 35.

43 Thompson, "The fate of the French Jesuits' creditors," 258.

44 Thompson, "The fate of the French Jesuits' creditors," 258.

There was no global financial integration within the Society's missions. Meanwhile, Lavalette left the Society in 1762 and continued to protest his innocence until his death in 1767.

The Lavalette crisis also demonstrated the limitations of the *Constitutions*. As pressure increased from the creditors and commercial courts, Jesuit administrators in France did have to take responsibility and it even "prompted the French Jesuits to appeal across national boundaries for financial support."[45] The money raised to pay for Lavalette's debts came eventually from the sale of Jesuit property in Martinique, the Americas, India, and France.[46] Even before the second part of the 18th century and the dissolution of the Society, the financial rules outlined in the *Constitutions* were on occasion ignored or adjusted. Due to the distance created by the expansion of Jesuit missions on a global scale, it was especially in the missions furthest from the center that Jesuit procurators and treasurers made changes to the solutions or philosophy envisioned in the *Constitutions*. For example, the *Constitutions* suggested that a physical distance between those fathers and brothers handling finances was created: procurators were supposed to live separately in detached houses.[47] The missions in the Philippines and in the Far East had more often than not limited resources and could not create this proscribed distance. Thus, procurators lived with everyone else, but they were encouraged to avoid gossip and only talk about the prelate or provincial superiors in their cell.[48] A more structural adjustment occurred in the Mexican missions, where the type of funding necessary for colleges was changed so that ranches and farms produced the financial support. These ranches were not leased but directly overseen by Jesuit college business managers, product distribution experts and other technocrats.[49] As Cushner revealed, this "set a precedent" throughout the Jesuit missions in the Americas. The Mexican change to central constitutions influenced the finances of other missions within the Spanish colonies. However, this did not mean that finances were necessarily more globally integrated. Colleges throughout the missions could still not help out other colleges in need: in the 1660s when "the Mexican provincial asked the General of the Order in Rome … to authorize a forced contribution by the other colleges to keep the Colegio Maximo opened,

45 Hufton, "Every Tub on Its Own Bottom," 19.

46 Thompson, "The fate of the French Jesuits' creditors."

47 Similar to the housing arrangements of the procurator general mentioned in Ganss, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, paragraph 806. For other examples, see Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 57.

48 Lilly, Lot 522, f. 67v. "No la hagas, y no lo remeras."

49 Cushner, *Farm and Factory*, 14.

[the General] refused but allowed the provincial to solicit donations."[50] Neither global nor even regional financial integration was thus imagined originally or at later stages. The exception was Lavalette's affair, but at that time the Order was already dissolved.

The lack of perfect integration did not mean that money, investments or donations, people, and ideas about financial solutions did not travel between outlying Jesuit missions (without passing through the center or with full approval of the procurator general in Rome). This certainly happened. As Clossey states, because "even with … compromises [to local adaptations] the Constitutions did not adequately recognize the decentralizing nature of distance," the "Jesuit financial endeavours were born of necessity" and Jesuit administrators in the missions often sought alternate funding.[51] German donors supported Jesuit missions and colleges in China and used French Jesuits to circumvent the control and meddling of the Portuguese crown and Portuguese Jesuits.[52] The English East India Company shipped profits from investments in Indian farms to the Jesuit missions in China.[53] Similarly, "customs collected at Diu were to support the China mission," and income from real estate in rural northern India made it to Macao.[54] Jesuit investments in the Macao-Japan trade muddled the finances of the Jesuit province of Japan and the vice-province of China, and, until the Society's suppression, the Japan province was the main creditor of the China vice-province.[55] Even the separation between missions under the Spanish *patronato* and the Portuguese *padroado* did not stop Belgian fathers such as Pieter Thomas Van Hamme (1651–1727) to travel to China via Mexico and Manila.[56] In the opposite direction, money from Asia supported the "beatification of Brazil's Forty Martyrs (1570) and José de Anchieta."[57] Many more examples exist to illustrate to what extent Jesuit missions were globally connected. This still does not warrant accrediting the Society of Jesus with a global financial integration.

50 James D. Riley, "The Wealth of the Jesuits in Mexico, 1670–767," in *The Americas* 33:2 (1976), 239.

51 Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 56, 163.

52 See my dissertation, chapter 3.

53 See my dissertation, chapter 5.

54 Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 167, 171.

55 This continued to be the case throughout all the institutional changes creating and separating both provinces. Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 173.

56 Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine*, 243. See also Robrecht Willem Van Der Heyden, *Het Leven van Pater Petrus-Thomas van Hamme, missionnaris in Mexico en in China (1651–1727)* (Gent: 1871).

57 Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 173.

13.3 Jesuit Financial Administration

The *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* were composed during the last nine years of Ignatius of Loyola's life and provide the following about the financial structure and procedures.[58] The procurator was responsible for all temporal Jesuit affairs: apart from finances this also included material resources, personnel, and many other tasks that are not necessarily clearly recognizable as part of finances or economy. The position of procurator mirrored the hierarchy of other Jesuit appointments. The procurator general, living in Rome, topped this hierarchy, followed by provincial procurators working in courts all over Europe, mission procurators throughout the rest of the world, college procurators, and, at the bottom of the hierarchy, estate managers. The staff of these procurators were temporal coadjutors, brothers who helped the procurator with non-spiritual aspects of the assignment. These brothers were called treasurers. Brothers usually filled the position of treasurer (in Asia the treasurer was most often an Asian Jesuit convert),[59] but they could be appointed as procurator as well. While brothers were more likely to fill the position of treasurer than of procurator, the *Constitutions* specified that the top post within the procurator hierarchy, that of procurator general, could only be occupied by fathers who had not taken their fourth vow (= brothers). The reasoning behind this rule was unclear, even to contemporaries.[60]

The person in charge of finances, resources, and personnel between Jesuit missions and Europe was the mission procurator, which some scholars refer to as visitor-procurator or simply procurator.[61] This appointment sounded similar to what a college or estate procurator did in a mission far from the center, "except that rather than communicating via letters and sending off the account information to the procurator general in Rome, the visitor-procurator traveled physically back to Europe and acted as "part ambassador, part fund-raiser, and part recruiter" for whatever province he represented."[62] No other person experienced the distance between the center and the periphery of the Society more than this visitor-procurator, who had to pass the physical and mental challenges accompanying the global transport of money, mail, and missionaries.

58 Ganss, George, trans. *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: 1970), 3.

59 See my dissertation, chapter 4.

60 Ganss, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, paragraph 793.

61 For example, Joseph Dehergne. In sources they are sometimes referred to as procurators or mission procurators. See also Standaert, "New Trends," 356.

62 See my dissertation, 41. See also Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 248. Nicolas Standaert has pointed out that most, and sometimes all, of this type of procurator's tasks are unrelated to financial matters. See personal correspondence.

Before analyzing the finances of colleges and the various sources of funding a Jesuit mission could call upon, I would like to briefly address the type of people the Society—as outlined in the *Constitutions*—sought to fill the position of procurator and treasurer. Since most treasurers and some procurators were recruited from the rank of brother, I will focus on what the *Constitutions* say about brothers or coadjutors. People within this category were men "of lesser (intellectual) gifts," who, ideally, aspired to stay a brother for the rest of their life.[63] The impression given by the *Constitutions* very much overlaps with Hufton's statement that no one joined the Jesuits to become their accountant. These brothers "would be bound for whatever time the superior general … should see fit to employ them in spiritual and temporal services."[64] Only the exceptional permission of the superior general could move them up in the ranks. "*The Constitutions* urged the coadjutors to be obedient and modest, not to change once they became coadjutor and to proceed along the same path, which was shown to them 'by Him who knows no change and to whom no change is possible.'"[65] Coadjutors made up a quarter of the Society, and when they were not engaged in financial affairs, they provided services as cooks, stewards, doorkeepers, infirmarians, launderers, gardeners etc. All these jobs required a strong stomach and physical strength, which were the basis of their recruitment.[66] As for their character, the *Constitutions* required them "to be men of good conscience, peaceful, docile, lovers of virtue and perfection, inclined to devotion, edifying for those inside and outside the house, content with the lot of Martha in the Society, well-disposed towards the Institute, and eager to help it for the glory of God."[67] It is no surprise that "coadjutors were responsible for less than 5% of the Jesuit scientific publications."[68] However, this did not mean these men were necessarily unintelligent: they had business experience, for example the knowledge of accounting procedures, exchange rates, and market values.[69] Additionally, what they may have lacked in religious ambition, they made up for in their knowledge of and experience with the Society's material resources. Especially in the Jesuit missions it was not unusual for the procurator—in the China Jesuit missions often a father and not a

63 Cohen, "The Social Origins of the Jesuits 1540–1600," 57.

64 Ganss, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 65.

65 See my dissertation, 148. See also Ganss, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 113 or paragraph 116.

66 Cohen, "The Social Origins of the Jesuits 1540–1600," 107.

67 Ganss, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, paragraph 148.

68 See Harris, "Mapping Jesuit Science," 225.

69 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 303.

brother—to stay on the job for a limited amount of time, whereas brothers or coadjutors worked as treasurers for much longer periods. Again the *Constitutions* suggested this distinction: fathers should not spend their talents for too long on "these burdensome duties" which were considered improper, whereas brothers should embrace spending the rest of their lives providing these services for the Jesuit fathers.[70] While treasurers in Portuguese missions in Asia have not been studied extensively, "Cushner has examined the ways in which the estate managers or Jesuit administrators in coastal Peru relied on the practical know-how of his assistants."[71] Estate managers or procurators were rotated every five to six years, partially to avoid the procurator's dissatisfaction with his tasks and partially "to avoid creating an independent overseer personality who found it difficult to return to the Jesuit communal-type living after enjoying almost absolute rule on a hacienda."[72] The two jobs that dealt with finances, procurators and treasurers, were ones that required different talents and even different people within the Society's hierarchy.

A question that arises when discussing the people making money for the Jesuits is that of how successful (or not) they were at doing this. If, within the Society, Jesuit fathers and even certain brothers (spiritual coadjutors) were extremely hesitant and reluctant to occupy themselves with finances for any period of time, and the Society and the *Constitutions* encouraged finding outsiders to perform these duties, this type of 'outsourcing' does not seem the most likely solution for financial success.[73] If people from within the Society or people "occupied in experiences" with the Society—temporal coadjutors dealing with material and financial matters could not say they were in the Society of Jesus[74]—did manage to be financially successful, they often became the subject of admiration as "excellent managers" and "astute investors."[75] However, as James Riley has demonstrated, "far from being universally endowed with managerial skill and creative commercial minds, the Jesuits were guilty of occasional abysmal blunders and of unthinking conservatism in management."[76] The ability to avoid bankruptcy of missions or colleges thanks

70 Ganss, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, paragraph 364.

71 Cushner, *Lords of the land,* 76. Thanks to a thorough investigation of sugar and wine haciendas by Cushner, the complex multitude of tasks of a Jesuit estate manager are no longer confusing. For more on treasurers in Asia, see my dissertation, 149–154.

72 Cushner, *Lords of the land,* 76.

73 See also Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 309, 312.

74 Cohen, "The Social Origins of the Jesuits 1540–1600," 57.

75 Riley, "The Wealth of the Jesuits in Mexico," 227.

76 Riley, "The Wealth of the Jesuits in Mexico," 228.

to large donations—ones that did not come with strict stipulations on how the money was used—was often misunderstood as Jesuits possessing more advanced financial skills than the other participants in said economy. This contributed to the myth of these Jesuit managers being "the first capitalists in an essentially feudal environment."[77] This is simply giving too much credit to the Jesuit procurators and treasurers. Even if they were very successful in certain areas such as Argentina, that success of Jesuit ranches and farms fitted within the "context of the expanding Spanish frontier," and "the Society's [financial] activity [and success!] was more participatory than innovative."[78] Keeping in mind the mismanagement, ineptitude, shoddy bookkeeping, and bad upkeep, the Jesuits did enjoy certain significant advantages that other competitors in the same economy did not: tax advantages (11% in the Chilean missions[79]), the advantage of scale (colleges did not go bankrupt because donations and money from other sources moved around despite official constitutions), and what Riley calls the responsibility of "those in charge of financial operations at all levels [to] invariably concern[ed] themselves with finding the bad administrators and getting rid of them."[80] To this I would add the legal backing, connections (local, regional, and global), and knowledge that could make a procurator so powerful as to distort the social and economic relationships in a frontier colony to the benefit of the Jesuit missions. The Jesuit procurator was often in competition with other local economic powers and even local government and institutions.[81] In the missions of northeastern New Spain for example, the Jesuits established themselves in vineyards, and pursued an economic partnership with the Tlaxcaltecan, which then brought them into conflict with Spanish settlers (for example, the Urdinola).[82] Other groups such as the Laguneros or nearby *vecinos* also suffered from this arrangement, and since the Jesuit procurator's help came with powerful legal support, the Jesuits reshaped the socioeconomic structure of that community in such ways that the Tlaxcaltecan with which they were allied were wealthier than local Spanish settlers. At the same time the Tlaxcaltecan were protected from encroachment upon their

77 Riley argues that François Chevalier comes close to this position. Riley, "The Wealth of the Jesuits in Mexico," 232.

78 Cushner, *Jesuit Ranches and the Agrarian Development of Colonial Argentina*, 5.

79 Riley, "The Wealth of the Jesuits in Mexico," 236. Francisco Encima, v, 268.

80 Riley, "The Wealth of the Jesuits in Mexico," 236.

81 J. Gabriel Martinez-Serna, "Vineyards in the Desert: the Jesuits and the Rise and Decline of an Indian Town in New Spain's Northeastern Borderlands," PhD diss., Deadman College Southern Methodist University, 2009.

82 Martinez-Serna, "Vineyards in the Desert," 76.

land and water resources by those Spanish potentates who tried to monopolize the land and resources in their large-scale estates. Martinez-Serna's dissertation thus illustrates how the Jesuits could be formidable opponents of frontier governors, farmers, and bishops (of other orders), and these struggles often had financial repercussions causing more resentment against Jesuit 'riches.'[83]

13.4 Sources of Income

The financial sources of Jesuit missions were many. Early in the 16th century, Rome had realized that it could not shoulder the enterprise of paying for the transport of missionaries worldwide and the costs—churches, salaries, and the maintenance of Christian missions and missionaries—that went with it. As a result the responsibility of paying these bills was transferred from Rome to the Spanish and Portuguese crowns, which allowed the missionaries to travel for free aboard their ships and paid each missionary an annual stipend. This was the Spanish *patronato* and Portuguese *padroado*. In return, the Iberian colonial powers expected the missionaries to help with the exploration and conquest by evangelizing the newly conquered people and thus transforming them from heathens or otherwise unwilling enemies of the empire into submissive subjects, accepting a new civil and religious authority. In nomadic or semi-nomadic regions, the missions tied people to land and this made it easier for the imperial powers to tax and control them. State and church joined forces with as result "God, Glory, and Gold."[84]

Financially, this was not the best of unions for the Jesuit missions. Just as Rome could not afford to pay the missions' costs, neither could the Spanish and Portuguese crowns. Across the whole world, Jesuits in the missions complained about the royal patronage.[85] In the case of Portugal, the crown promised a great deal, but, in part because of the "chaotic character of royal finances" and the problem of distance between court and far off missions, the money did not always arrive or was simply not distributed by colonial administrators. As such, if the patronage was paid, it was paid late or only part of what was promised.

Even if the king's stipend for each missionary arrived, it was both in the American and most Asian missions insufficient to cover the expenses.[86] In the case of the China missions, a Jesuit living in Beijing at the beginning of the 17th

83 Martinez-Serna, "Vineyards in the Desert," 74.

84 Cushner, *Why have you come here?*, 28–29

85 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 326 and the entire chapter 13.

86 Cushner, *Why have you come here?*, 60.

century received seventy-two taels annually, while Jesuits living in residences outside the Ming capital received less.[87] Over the course of the 17th century this stipend went down, to fifty taels, and went back up, slowly, to sixty taels. However, the costs of a missionary living in a residence outside the capital were easily four times this amount.[88] The Jesuit procurator complained and asked for the stipend to be raised to one hundred taels in 1666, but only in 1719 did the stipend go up to eighty taels for all missionaries working under Portuguese patronage, and in 1729 the missionaries finally received one hundred taels.[89] For missionaries living in the interior, with four or five domestic servants to maintain, this was still far from enough. Additionally, it was not unusual for the missionaries to experience long gaps of not receiving this stipend. In 1644, the vice-provincial of China reported that his enterprise had not received any pensions for more than thirty years and that the arrears then stood at 18,000,000 reals, or roughly fifteen times the province's annual income.[90] This situation, in which the crown ended up being indebted to the Society rather than the other way around, was not unusual. Jesuits in Brazil complained that the king owed the colleges 4,400,000 reals. In Angola, missionaries had not been paid for ten years. In Malabar, India, salaries were in arrears for five years. The Japan missions, who were supposed to receive support from royal sources in India, had "not received funds from Malacca in fifteen years, nor any from India in five years."[91] As Clossey explained, "money would [even] flow in the opposite direction, from the Jesuits back to colonial officials," as the latter borrowed substantial amounts from the Society.[92] Even though the 17th century was a debt culture, reclaiming debts from a royal 'benefactor' was not impossible but it required time. The ever-expanding Jesuit missions could ill afford this wait. Quite soon, it became clear to the Jesuits in Asia, and to those in the Americas as well, that there were serious limitations to being tied to the crown's patronage. Other sources of income had to be found.

87 Margiotti, *Il Cattolicismo nello Shansi dalle Origini al 1738*, 393–394. The tael consisted of 37.3 grams of silver, with a ranging fineness. See Hans U. Vogel, "Chinese Central Monetary Policy, 1644–1800," *Late Imperial China* 8:2 (1987): 5. The tael was the Portuguese equivalent of the Chinese *liang* 兩. Wilkinson states that by the late Qing, there were more than 170 different kinds of taels current in China. See Endymion P. Wilkinson, *Studies in Chinese Price History* (New York, London: 1980), 250. The differences were in both weight (Wilkinson's very rough indication was: 40 grams of silver = 1 tael) and fineness.

88 Golvers, *François de Rougemont*, 393–396.

89 Margiotti, *Il Cattolicismo nello Shansi dalle Origini al 1738*, 395.

90 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 329.

91 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 327–328.

92 Clossey, *Globalization and Salvation*, 167.

In the case of Asia, the Portuguese crown faced other difficulties apart from salaries in arrears and royal subordinates refusing to pay such salaries even if they had the royal monies. Another issue was that of competing patronages. The Dutch nor the English state, Portugal's main European competitors in Asia from the 17th century onwards, would support the Jesuits, but a fellow Catholic monarch, the French king, Louis XIV did. To the Portuguese ruler and the Portuguese Jesuits, this support was seen as an illegal challenge to the ecclesiastical dominance that the Papacy had entrusted to Portugal.[93] They were right to see this French effort as a challenge: in the words of a French Jesuit procurator in Paris, because of the terrible state of the Portuguese empire in the East and the many dropped connections between Europe and China, the French state (and Jesuits supported by the French king) were able to take over the torch and continue "promoting the Catholic banner in the East."[94] The French were not the first to challenge the Portuguese *padroado*: when Nicolas Trigault, the procurator for the Jesuit China missions in 1615, pushed a little too hard for recruiting more non-Portuguese than Portuguese Jesuits, he was accused of "breaching" the royal rights, "anti-Portuguese parochialism," and "pan-European internationalism."[95] The debate on the legality of such actions and more specifically Louis XIV's support is not as straightforward as the (proto-nationalistic) Portuguese side experienced it: throughout the 17th century the Papacy itself had tried "to erode the [rules regarding] the *padroado*" by declaring that the *padroado* rights did not apply in "*estra dominium temporale regni Portugalliae*, beyond where the crown enjoys actual control ("temporal dominion")—thus excluding independent kingdoms in Asia and Africa."[96] An example of this was Pope Urban VIII's bull in 1633: it stated that all orders and congregations had the right to establish missions in China and Japan, and that the missionaries could travel to these regions by whatever way they wanted.[97]

93 See also Florence Hsia, *Sojourners in a Strange Land: Jesuits & their Scientific Missions in Late Imperial China* (Chicago: 2009), 51.

94 See Antoine Verjus in ARSI, Galliae 112, f. 101r.

95 Clossey, *Globalization and Salvation*, 42. See also Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, 169.

96 See Claudia von Collani, *P. Joachim Bouvet S.J.: Sein Leben und sein Werk* (Nettetal: 1985), 6. Technically they did not have to after 1673, when "Clement X buttressed the papal argument by declaring that *padroado* rights do not exist *estra dominium temporale regni Portugalliae*, beyond where the crown enjoys actual control ("temporal dominion")—thus excluding independent kingdoms in Asia and Africa." See Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 157–158.

97 Duteil, *Le Mandat du Ciel*, 16.

This bull was followed by several more. Portugal contested all of them, which caused tensions between the papacy and the Portuguese king both in Europe and in the missions. In China, this conflict escalated when the French king decided to send French Jesuits to the Qing emperor. Before long, the financial repercussions of this conflict became clear as well. Between 1678 and 1701, the agendas of multiple Jesuits and state actors aligned which resulted in the creation of a separated Portuguese and French Jesuit China mission. In 1678, a procurator from the China missions had taken with him a letter with instructions to recruit more missionaries skilled in mathematics and sciences.[98] This letter came to the attention of the French king via his Jesuit confessor, François d'Aix de la Chaise (1624–1709). Just around that time, the French king himself had considered ways in which to extend French influence in the East and more specifically in China.[99] The way in which the French state sought to do this required people skilled in mathematics and sciences, which thus created a convergence of interests: a desire to propagate the faith, advance the sciences, and extend "the influence of the mother-country."[100] Sending French Jesuits from Paris to Beijing would establish a scientific, diplomatic, and possibly even commercial connection between both rulers, courts, and empires, and the Jesuits were useful imperial subjects in every stage along the way. The French state and French Jesuits were eager to cooperate and construct their own version of a patronage relationship.[101]

98 The procurator was Philippe Couplet; Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688) worded the instructions. French procurator in Paris, Antoine Verjus, alluded to the contents of this letter and how it invited Jesuits from all nations to come to China. ARSI, Galliae 112, f. 117v.

99 Catherine Jami, "From Louis XIV's Court to Kangxi's Court: An Institutional Analysis of the French Jesuit Mission to China (1688–1722)" *East Asian Science* (1995): 495. See also John Witek, *Controversial Ideas in China and Europe: a Biography of Jean-François Foucquet S.J. (1665–1741)* (Rome: 1982), 20, 24; Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 313. Collani, *Journal des Voyages*, 4–5. France also tried to create a sphere of interest in Siam from 1662 to 1688.

100 Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine. 1552–1773* (Shanghai: 1932–1934), 420. Catherine Jami's arguments for the three-pronged convergence of interests that resulted in the new mission of the French king's mathematicians are similar to Pfister's. Jami, "From Louis XIV's Court to Kangxi's Court," 495.

101 The French state was keen to cooperate with the French Jesuits, and, based upon an anonymous memoir written in 1764, the French state still believed in the usefulness of Jesuits aboard French ships. ARSI, Galliae 118, f. 17. Anonymous memoir to his eminence, M. Le Cardinal de Bernis, 1764. An example of the Jesuits' usefulness is their mediation between French merchants and Chinese customs officers. They should be transported for free as they could provide important services on multiple occasions, and they (the Jesuits) were not considered useless to the nation. ARSI, Galliae 118, f. 17.

Once again, initially, the patronage relationship worked great: the French state's support was very generous at the beginning and gave each missionary the equivalent of a hundred taels a year from 1685 onwards.[102] In contrast to the Portuguese (and Spanish) patronage, the French missionaries rarely had to wait for their stipend, and sources seem to suggest that it was paid in full until the early 1790s.[103] Especially in the first two decades of the French Jesuit mission in China, the French Jesuits were able to invest in Beijing real estate, and thanks to the absence of political and economic upheaval in 18th century China, the French Jesuits prospered and owned around seventy properties by 1778. The Portuguese Jesuits were more than irritated: they did experience all those setbacks in the 17th century which had caused financial disaster for the missions several times, it took them longer to get paid a smaller annual stipend, and, since the French and Portuguese missions were separated, they did not share in the benefits of French patronage. This last reason was especially infuriating, since the Portuguese patronage had been more open to non-Portuguese Jesuits than the French. Meanwhile, the urban real estate controlled by the French Jesuits made up 73% of the total value of the missions' properties, and its revenue generated 71% of the missions' annual income.[104] In the case of the French Jesuits in China, the income from these local investments became, thanks to the royal patronage at the end of the 17th century, the major source of income. It was more important than regional support from trade or investments in other Asian parts or global support from state or private benefactors in Europe. It also allowed the French Jesuit mission to be financially self-sustained, which was the goal many other Portuguese missions in Asia desperately sought to achieve.

However, towards the end of the 18th century, the problematic financial relationship between state and church would resurface when control and management of these real estate investments had to be transferred from the French

102 ARSI, JapSin 171, f. 2r. This document describes certain financial transactions between different French Jesuits from October 1707 until April 1708. See also Margiotti, *Il Cattolicismo nello Shansi dalle Origini al 1738*, 396. See also Camille de Rochemonteix, *Joseph Amiot et les derniers Survivants de la Mission Française a Pékin (1750–1795)* (Paris: 1915), 400. These pensions were considered too high by some unnamed contemporaries, but they compare favorably with the amounts of money the French state paid to the members of the Parisian Royal Academy of Sciences one hundred years earlier, of which the first six French Jesuits sent to China, were members. See Alice Stroup, *A Company of Scientists: Botany, Patronage, and Community at the Seventeenth-Century Parisian Royal Academy of Sciences* (Berkeley: 1990), Table 1.

103 See documents in Vanves, Brotier 113 and 115.

104 For more about this, see below. 73.9% and 71.9% to be precise. Vanves, Brotier 134, f. 88.

Jesuits to alternative French imperial subjects. As a result of the financial repercussions of the Lavalette affair, other French missions and the French province had to help pay for Lavalette's debts. There is little indication that the French mission in China made direct payments or sold its properties as a contribution.[105] When the French state dissolved the Society and the French procurator in Beijing made his report of the mission's finances and assets, it was not clear to ex-Jesuits in Beijing or French administrators in Europe what should happen to those investments and properties worth roughly 553,930 French livres.[106] In the confusion, some investments and their revenue were lost: no one is sure what happened to investments in Canton worth 300,000 or 375,000 livres (which generated in theory an annual income of 45,000 livres).[107] The person in charge of managing these financial ventures, brother Montigny, had left his post and refused to go back. He had left his affairs with unknown merchants. Similarly, French Jesuit investment in India, worth 150,000 or 160,000 livres and generating a 6% rent (9,600 livres), of which the revenue was shipped to Canton, was threatened after the Society's dissolution. Up until then the English East India Company had transported this money from India to China, but the EIC attempted to stop this service in the mayhem of the 1770s. The English were however quickly persuaded to continue their collaboration with the French Jesuits out of fear that the Jesuits would manipulate the Qing emperor, who in turn would cut the English off from all Chinese trade.[108] In this case, French administrators in Europe and French ex-Jesuits did manage to track down and recoup the financial resources of dissolved Jesuit missions. In Beijing, the situation grew tense within the French missions, and "at the heart of the conflict was property."[109] As soon as the Society was dissolved, the Society's hierarchy was questioned by French ex-Jesuits in Beijing, who no longer accepted the authority of the French procurator over the mission's financial assets. Some missionaries argued that the revenue of these investments

105 I have not yet found evidence for this. This link to the China missions is also not mentioned in Dorothy Gillian Thompson's dissertation "The Confiscation and Administration of Jesuit Property under the Jurisdiction of the Parlement of Paris 1762–1798."

106 See for example Vanves, Brotier 135, f. 178, 193, 228–229, 249.

107 Vanves, Brotier 135, f. 178v. According to the author of this document, the Jesuits were able to cash only half of that amount. See also f. 249v.

108 See my dissertation, 200–201. See also Catherine Manning, *Fortunes à Faire: The French in Asian Trade, 1719–48* (Aldershot: 1996), appendix IV. See also Vanves, Brotier 135, f. 136 (1727), 156r (1776), 168v (1776), 176 (1781), 193.

109 R. Po-chia Hsia 'Jesuit Survival and Restoration in China' in *Jesuit Survival and Restoration: A Global History, 1773–1900*, Robert A Maryks and Jonathan Wright (eds.), (Brill: 2015), 245–260.

should be paid out directly to them. Initially, when the news of the Society's dissolution became known officially in China by 1775, most French missionaries (ex-Jesuits) agreed that whoever took over their possessions should be French. In letters to the minister of state Henri Léonard Jean Baptiste Bertin (1720–1792), Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot (1718–1793) wrote that while he may no longer be a Jesuit, he was still French: as such, his "French heart revolted against the thought that the goods of the French mission would be taken over by foreigners."[110] The French fears were real: in 1775 a German Carmelite and missionary of Propaganda Fide visited the French house in Beijing. With the bull of destruction of the order in hand, he proposed that the French Jesuits sign over their church, house, and all their assets to the domain of the pope, or, in effect, to him.[111] The procurator deflected and sent the Carmelite on his way. However, the more pertinent danger came from within. Three fathers in particular rejected the authority of the procurator and wanted their share of the mission's wealth—the procurator in turn accused them of being "priests with anti-French principles."[112] While the original procurator used patents and the French king's seal to assert their authority, the dissenters brought this dispute before the (ex-)Jesuits' other imperial patron, the Qing emperor. When large amounts of assets which generated considerable wealth had to be divided, the strife within the mission revealed that the Jesuits were, and had always been, inter-imperial subjects: depending on the situation and region they did not have consistent loyalties to one imperial patron.

One way of de-connecting the tight umbilical cord between *padroado* or *patronato* and mission was to find other private benefactors. Private patrons were often less demanding and easier to deal with than royal patrons.[113] The Jesuits still had to be careful when accepting donations: some donations came with rather strict stipulations on their use which could end up costing the Society more than they were worth. As Riley states, even "donated estates were not free."[114] The benefactor's conditions to accepting this supposedly free estate, could include paying off debts to the land, paying off personal debts, or establishing a chair of studies in a certain field.[115] Financially, the deal or donation

110 Rochemonteix, *Joseph Amiot*, 153. Vanves, Brotier 135, f. 140.

111 Vanves, Brotier 135, f. 158.

112 Rochemonteix, *Joseph Amiot*, 250. Hsia, 'Jesuit Survival and Restoration in China', 250–251. The three were Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Grammont (1736–1812?), Louis Antoine de Poirot (1735–1813), and Jean-Matthieu Tournu Ventavon (1733–1787).

113 See also Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 344.

114 Riley, "The Wealth of the Jesuits in Mexico," 237.

115 Riley, "The Wealth of the Jesuits in Mexico," 237.

could then be a whole lot less attractive. However, a private benefactor would often make a donation to establish a Jesuit college. The rules for this were as follows: a benefactor's foundation would provide the start-up capital for a college.[116] Specific guidelines existed to ensure that the college would be economically viable and would be able to sustain itself. A college needed a minimum of Jesuits, and the provincial general would forward a report on its finances every three years.[117] Along the way, substantial donations on top of the original foundation would carry the college across financially troublesome times. In the case of Mexico, four colleges were on the brink of financial bankruptcy, but "no college actually failed during the 17th and 18th centuries."[118] While colleges that did well financially could not help out colleges "on the brink of bankruptcy," these rules were not absolute. The theoretical ideal was however one of independency and not of horizontal integration.

Donations of private benefactors could become entangled with the patronage relationship between imperial patron and proto-nationalistic Jesuit groups. One of the more significant European private benefactors was Ferdinand von Fürstenberg (1626–1683), prince-bishop of Münster.[119] In 1682, Fürstenberg's endowment provided funding for thirty-six missionaries in fifteen missions (generally two missionaries per mission), divided over northern German areas, and missionaries in China and Japan.[120] This private donation encouraged the Portuguese king to increase his financial support for missionaries under his patronage as Fürstenberg became a rivaling benefactor in certain areas.[121] This could erode the missionaries' loyalty to the Portuguese crown, and it is not surprising that around this same time (due to the French missionaries as well) non-Portuguese missionaries were asked to sign oaths of fidelity to the Portuguese *padorado*.[122] For the Portuguese king, it was not just fear of losing the place of primary benefactor or a "point of honor:" the stipulations of Fürstenberg's donation reveal another way it which it interacted and affected the royal

116 Barea, Fermín Sánchez, "The Financing Sources of the Jesuits' Colleges in the Modern Age," *Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences* 15 (2011): 2938–2942.

117 Barea, "The Financing Sources of the Jesuits' Colleges," 2941.This is true in theory.

118 Riley, "The Wealth of the Jesuits in Mexico," 231.

119 Since 1661 he was Prince-Bishop of Paderborn, and after 1678 he also held that title for Münster.

120 Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 182.

121 Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 158.

122 See oaths of fidelity to the Portuguese *padroado*, as chronologically classified in Francis Rouleau archives, File Cabinet A, 1665–1691, Ricci Institute at the University of San Francisco.

financial support. During the 1690s some changes were made to the original foundation, and one of the more significant ones was that the foundation was for the benefit of all nations, except the Portuguese.[123] The new endowment, as agreed by the prince nephew of von Fürstenberg who seemed to have taken over the responsibility of the foundation after his death, supported twelve missionaries: four German or Flemish Jesuits, four Spanish or Italian fathers, and four French.[124] The revenues from the endowment would be equally divided amongst them, consisting of 125 German *thalers*, which would be converted into French monies.[125] In the documents preserved in the Jesuit and the Propaganda Fide archives, the total sum of the capital available for the endowment seemed to be 25,000 Imperial *thalers*: an extra 5,000 was needed for converting currencies.[126] In each archival volume, the 1682 document was followed by the revised 1699 document. The revised foundation also stressed that, since French ships were safer and faster than Portuguese ships, the French Jesuit procurators and king would be given the responsibility of transporting and distributing the funds. This really upset the Portuguese fathers in Europe and China. The French procurator, Antoine Verjus, was the man seemingly responsible for these changes.[127] The re-routing of funds started in 1698 and would be undone, due to criticism from German, French, and most of all Portuguese Jesuits, by 1707. It demonstrates that the donations by private benefactors added to the royal patronage and the overall funding of the Jesuits, but it was not clearly separated from the *padroado*.

123 ARSI, Galliae 112, f. 121v.

124 ARSI, Galliae 112, f. 128. See also Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome (BNC), Fondo Gesuitico (FG) 1386, f. 47r.

125 BNC, FG 1386, f. 48v. The currency in the text is *daleri*, most likely the Italian translation of the German currency *thaler*. I would like to thank Richard Unger for pointing this out. The original endowment, dating March 25, 1682, stated that, for eight missionaries, the return on the total sum of money per year (20,000 imperial *thalers*) was 1,000 *thalers*, which divided by eight came to an annual pension of 125 *thalers* per missionary. ARSI Galliae 111, f. 8. This document was signed by the Prince-bishop on 22 February 1682. See also Archivio della Santa Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Populi, Rome (APF), Informazioni Pro Missione Sinensi (INF) 134, f. 558 and ARSI FG 111, f. 501–505, for the same numbers and a very similar document.

126 Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 182. Unfortunately Clossey's numbers only mention six missionaries and an endowment of 15,000 *thalers*, which provided an annual revenue of 750 *thalers*, which amounted to one hundred twenty-five for each of them. Clossey refers to the document held in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Codd. MSS. latinor 26472, f. 120r). I have not had the chance to compare the versions I found with the one he found.

127 ARSI, Galliae 112, f. 71.

Within the group of private benefactors women should not be ignored. In the case of the China missions, sources suggest that some of the most important financial benefactors were in fact women.[128] Candida Xu (Hiu) (1607–1680) was the granddaughter of Xu Guangqi (1562–1633), and was a third generation Christian Chinese affluent woman who supported the Christian missions in and around Shanghai in a very significant way: her financial support was matched by no other person or institution.[129] When the Jesuit procurator Philippe Couplet returned to Europe in search for more resources and missionaries, he praised her support and dedication in *Histoire d'une dame chrétienne de la Chine* (Paris: Michallet, 1688), which was translated in Spanish, Dutch, and Italian. This work was meant to inspire other noble women in Europe to follow Xu's example, while it at the same time demonstrated that the European tradition of female patronage to the Society was replicated in China as well. One of Loyola's letters had similarly paid tribute to the intervention on behalf of the Society of a Spanish lady. This letter circulated widely and encouraged the development of "a literary genre of reforming noble ladies to be read and emulated."[130]

Even before the Society's official foundation and ever since, the association between Jesuits and wealthy aristocratic or noble women was acknowledged by both contemporaries and later scholars: some, such as the author of *Monita Secreta: The Secret Institutions of the Jesuits* were "scornful" of the "Jesuit efforts to woo feminine supporters: females, especially widows, were supposedly particularly susceptible to entreaties by representatives of religious Orders."[131] Again, the critics and opponents of the Jesuits may have given them too much credit regarding their skill to, almost without fail, convince rich women to support their Society. This sort of critique also depicts the relationship between Jesuit fathers and noble women in stereotypes that do not do justice to either party. While the Jesuits as part of a political and religious elite were powerful actors and did more than once cause serious drama within families as they tried to secure financial support promised to them by deceased family members, the noble women were not always easily manipulated and passive actors who either out of spite attempted to give money away from the families who

128 Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity*, 394. See also Gail King, "Candida Xu and the Growth of Christianity in China in the Seventeenth Century," *Monumenta Serica* 46 (1998), 51. Golvers, *François de Rougemont*, 592.

129 Golvers, *François de Rougemont*, 591–592.

130 Olwen Hufton, "Altruism and Reciprocity: the Early Jesuits and their Female Patrons," *Renaissance Studies* 15:3 (2001), 343.

131 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 364.

had forced them into marriages or were too weak to resist the pressure of manipulating Jesuits. The relationship was not as unequal as these stereotypes would present it. Eleanor of Toledo, for example, had nurtured a relationship between herself and the Jesuits for many years. As it became clear that this relationship could not guarantee her son a future as cardinal, she left "an annual 200 *scudi* towards the running of the college [in Florence], a sum much less than her nightly gambling debts in her lifetime."[132] Another example was Catherine of Bragança: even though the dowager queen cared deeply for the Society and especially the Maranhense missions, she left less than 3 percent of her estate to the Society.[133] In the case of Isabel, countess of Luna and daughter of Leonora de Vega Osorio, "the balance sheet, however, was [again] markedly on the side of the patroness."[134] Both Isabel and her mother Leonora helped the Jesuits on numerous occasions (not only via financial donations), but in return for this help, they made requests, which required the Jesuits and Ignatius of Loyola personally to adjust their position and rules more than once. The rewards were still more than considerable for the Society: Hufton suggests that the intervention and maneuvering of Margaret of Austria, Charles V's illegitimate daughter, married to Pope Paul III's grandson, Ottavio Farnese, resulted in "the Bull of Foundation of the Society."[135] Further significant female benefactors were for example D. Juliana Dias da Costa (d. 1734), "a prominent lady-in-waiting at the Mughal court" for the Jesuit missions in India and countess Maria Theresia Von Fugger-Wellenburg (1690–1762), who initially looked for a safe investment and ended up donating the interest on that investment to the China missions.[136] That last example illustrates that while the role of female benefactors may have diminished towards the 18th century due to the rise of female orders such as the Ursulines (a movement which was encouraged by the Jesuits in France),[137] women continued to build relationships of friendship and patronage with individual Jesuit missionaries or missions.

Both royal and private patronage suffered from the same limitations: the financial support could rarely be sustained across oceans and continents. While the interest of investments in Europe could support the Jesuit missions for long periods of time in theory, the limitations of transport during the early

132 Hufton, "Altruism and Reciprocity," 345.

133 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 354.

134 Hufton, "Altruism and Reciprocity," 352.

135 Hufton, "Altruism and Reciprocity," 341.

136 Hsia, R. Po-chia, *Noble Patronage and Jesuit missions: Maria Theresia Von Fugger-Wellenburg (1690–1762) and Jesuit Missionaries in China and Vietnam* (Rome: 2006).

137 Hufton, "Altruism and Reciprocity," 330.

modern world cut short these payments, even if king, pope, or a noble's descendants agreed to pay out and forward these installments to the far end of the world. What was needed were self-sustaining missions. Financial support from European sources needed to be invested locally. One way of doing that was investing in trade. So while "gifts may not have been vital to Jesuit operations in Brazil," Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), procurator of Indian missions, realized that "a trio of Jesuit benefactors *did* [Alden's emphasis] make fundamental contributions to the activities of the Japan province" in the sense that Valignano used these donations as "the seed money … to get the Society started in the famous silk trade."[138]

Of all the financial sources the Jesuits drew on, income from trade was the most controversial both within and outside the Society. According to the Pombaline regime, evidence of this type of activity, which was forbidden by church and state, motivated them to exclude the Jesuits from its empire and colonies.[139] This was a hypocritical accusation for many reasons; both crown and pope had given the Jesuits permission to trade in specific items at specific times and in certain places. Additionally, the Jesuits did not start their engagement in commerce suddenly towards the end of the 1750s. They started much earlier. This also meant that the Jesuits had a response to Canon 142 of the *Codex Juris Canonici*, which imposed the prohibition that religious orders could not engage in business or trading, or, as farmers angry at the role of the Society on the marketplace in Quito, Angola, or India would say, "buying and selling." The Jesuit lawyers would point out that the prohibition was only validated if four conditions applied. These four conditions made clear that the person in question had bought and sold goods intentionally and primarily for making profits, whereas the Jesuits did not have that intention. Their intention and earnings from investments went to charitable goals.[140] While this type of reasoning may have held in court for over a century and a half, it did not stop Portugal, Spain, France, and eventually Rome, to dissolve both the issue and the Society in 1773.

Since it is difficult to treat the topic of trade and the Jesuit missions' involvement globally in an exhaustive manner, I will restrict myself to the relationship between commerce and the vice-province of China in this chapter. The main reason why Jesuits, from Francis Xavier in 1548 onwards, turned to trade as a financial source, was that they understood the limitations of reliably and

138 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 349.

139 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 528.

140 Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 174,175, and footnote 56 on page 207. See also Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 528–9.

continuously transferring royal and private patronage from Europe to the Far East. Initially, the crown agreed. Then, it forbade trade. Then it was allowed again under certain conditions. As several authorities swayed back on forth on whether to permit trading activities, it is not clear exactly when the Jesuits started trading in silk between China and Japan (and when they stopped completely).[141]

From 1583 the Jesuits shipped a certain amount of *piculs* of silk (could be 100, could be 50) from Macao to Japan: roughly 10% of the profit from this trade went towards the costs of transport, 3% to other non-defined costs, leaving the Jesuits with about 3,915 ducats per silk shipment.[142] Normally the Jesuits used Portuguese ships or other "commercial carriers," however, the Jesuit college of Macao owned two junks by 1630 and "owned shares in several other craft."[143] There was at least one shipment a year until 1620, although not all of those reached their destinations due to maritime conflict or storms. Apart from this 'legal' trade, a certain volume of illegal trade took place as well. As long as Macao functioned as a commercial hub, the Jesuits profited as well. In 1639 Japanese government banned all dealings with the Portuguese, which was a bad timing for the fathers of the recently established vice-province of China, since they had only started their participation in the silk trade three years earlier. Some illegal trade seems to have continued, but the already highly speculative character of the business became even more unstable. After 1639, both

141 For more information, see Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 533. Takase Koichiro, "Unauthorized Commercial Activities by Jesuit Missionaries in Japan," *Acta Asiatica*, 30 (1976): 19–33. See also Iwao Seiichi, "Japanese Foreign Trade in the 16th and 17th Centuries," *Acta Asiatica*, 30 (1976): 1–18. Kato Eiichi, "The Japanese-Dutch Trade in the Formative Period of the Seclusion Policy: Particularly on the Raw Silk Trade by the Dutch Factory at Hirado, 1620–1640," *Acta Asiatica*, 30 (1976): 34–84. Charles R. Boxer in his *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals of Macao and the old Japan Trade, 1555–1640* and *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* (Lisbon: 1959).

142 Margiotti, *Il Cattolicismo nello Shansi dalle Origini al 1738*, 369. Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 534. 1*picul* equaled about 60.48 kilograms and would be bought in China for 90 ducats and resold in Japan for 140. See also Michael Cooper, "The Mechanics of the Macao-Nagasaki Silk Trade,"*Monumenta Nipponica*, 27:4 (1972): 426–430. As for the profit numbers, see ARSI, JapSin 14 (IIb), ff. 341–342. See also Henri Chappoulie, *Aux origins d'une Eglise. Rome et les missions d'Indochine au XVIIe siècle. Tome II* (Paris: 1948), 155. For 90 *piculs*, the Jesuits made 3,915 ducats per shipment (50 ducats profit x 90 *piculs*, 4500—450 (10% transportation costs)—135 (3% random costs) = 3,915), if they only traded 50 *piculs*, their profit would still be 2,175 ducats. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon*, 39.

143 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 531.

Macao and the Jesuits from the Japan and China province had to restructure their trading activities. According to Luis da Gama, "there are no more reliable sources of wealth than what the winds and tides bring. If they fail, all else fails. There is no other way for this Province to sustain its missions."[144]

In 1669 pope Clement IX forbade any commerce, but, despite this ban, Jesuit trading activities continued to some extent and mirrored the possibilities available in the European colonial and merchant networks of the region. French Jesuits arrived too late in the Far East to engage in the silk trade—it is very unlikely that they would have been able to link up with Portuguese merchants in Macao –, but they had their own connections to, for example, the English East India Company. The English (just like the Dutch) may have arrived similarly late, but before long their network was a more reliable trading vehicle to the Jesuits than the Portuguese one, which the English together with the Dutch put under increasing pressure commercially and militarily. There is little evidence that the French Jesuits owned a share in English commercial shipping, but, as explained above, the English shipped the French Jesuits' income from Madras to Canton. The French Jesuits performed certain mediating services for English captains dealing with China and the English paid the French both in cash and kind. Trade as a financial source shared some of the limitations of patronage: if its profits or donations could be invested locally, then they contributed towards the goal of financial independence of the Jesuit mission.

Sometimes these three categories provided the start-up capital for lasting investments, however the last source of financing, land or urban real estate, farms, or ranches, was the most important source in achieving this goal of self-sustainability. The initial gifts and support from the crown for the Jesuits to buy real estate was so significant that it constitutes what scholars such as Konrad, Cushner, and Alden called a pattern: in the case of New Spain, the Jesuits only started buying land after the 1580s.[145] Before that date most of their real estate was the result of donations. In the case of the Portuguese *Assistancy*, Alden proposes a similar timeline: the donations and how they were invested in real estate started around the 1570s and its importance diminished after 1616. However, depending on region and patron, the connection between donations did not end in 1616. Quite often, once they established themselves as landholders, the Jesuit colleges and missions steadily increased their rural and urban holdings.

144 ARSI, FG 721/II/7, f. 10, paragraph 30. Luis da Gama to the Jesuit general, 15 December 1664. Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 537.

145 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 380. Konrad, *A Jesuit Hacienda in Colonial Mexico: Santa Lucía, 1576–1767* (Stanford CA: 1980), 49.

More so than the previous three types of financial sources—royal patronage, private benefactors, and trade—the opportunities of rural and urban real estate available to the Jesuits were dictated by the colonial background or imperial backing of the region. The great differences between the Spanish, Portuguese, and eventually French colonies and their ability to provide for what Cushner calls a "protective shadow of colonial troops," was critical when the Jesuits entered the business of large-scale farms or ranches that reorganized previously nomadic or semi-nomadic people into settled imperial subjects.[146] French Jesuits represented the French empire's interests in North America, but, since the French state was more interested in commerce with the native population rather than using their labor in large-scale agricultural projects, the Jesuits did not accumulate real estate. In Maryland, the Jesuits did not "receive any recompense or support for their labors from the proprietor of the colony but were to work the land like other colonists and be totally self-supporting." In Mexico, Peru, and Brazil the Jesuit estates fit closely with the prevalent colonial model and used either native or slave labor. In the case of Argentina, "the role of Jesuit ranching and farming must be placed within the context of the expanding Spanish frontier:" the Jesuit landholdings moored colonial control against "encroaching and marauding Indians."[147] In India, the Society invested in coconut and rice estates, while at the same time extracting rents from village and temple land, thus embodying income from both rural and urban investments.[148] As such, India represents an exception to the mirror image between colonial models and Jesuit landholding: the Portuguese never had more than a toehold in India but this did not stop the Jesuits from "gaining extensive holdings in th[is] subcontinent."[149] The derived income supported Portuguese Jesuit missions both in India and further east in Macao. In the Philippines, Jesuit missions did not precisely follow the structure of missions in Spanish American colonies: substantial income came from real estate investments in the city of Manila.[150] Urban real estate rather than landed estates or farms were critical for Christian convents in the Philippines.[151]

146 Cushner, *Why have you Come Here?*, 153, 155, 174. The following examples are also from Cushner.

147 Cushner, *Jesuit Ranches and the Agrarian Development of Colonial Argentina, 1650–1767*, 5.

148 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 376.

149 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 381.

150 Vogt, "Economic and Social Structures," 59. See also Augustine Mariá Castro, "Historia del insigne convento de San Pablo de Manila, 1770" in *Missionalia Hispanica* vol. III, 22 (1951): 91.

151 This is also supported by the task description of a procurator or treasurer in brother Pedro Núñez' (?-1761) manual in the Lilly library at the University of Indiana, Bloomington.

While the exact importance of income from real estate in relation to the overall income of these Christian missions cannot be calculated for the Philippines because the account books did not survive, the ledgers accounting for the budget of the French Jesuit community in Beijing during the 1770s did. This allows researchers to calculate precisely to what extent urban real estate revenue paid the overall mission's bill.

No more than a handful of account books survive for the China missions.[152] The ones that did, however, present a high-resolution image for Jesuit finances on a daily basis and the Jesuits' regional and global financial connections. The 'memoir on the goods' ("*Biens*") of the French missionaries in Beijing from 1776 to 1778 can be used to examine the interaction between local and global finances of the Jesuits in China, and further contextualize and support the argument of the role of real estate investments.[153] In contrast to the three surviving accounting sources from China missions before the 1750s, the accounting material on the French Jesuit possessions in Beijing were no personal accounts and they were meant to survive for an audience in Europe beyond the strict confines of the Society (out of fear of prying eyes of the Society's critics or other outsiders, most account books were destroyed upon the author's death). Four different copies survive.[154] A reason for this was that after the dissolution of the Society in 1773 and perhaps due to the French Jesuit debts, governmental agents and Jesuit creditors were eager to find out what was happening to Jesuit investments in China. The reports indicate that the French missionaries owned shops and houses (sixty-nine contracts), good works (twelve contracts),[155] terrains and

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Lilly, Lot 522, 214 folios. It is also referred to as manuscript 21533 (2), or Phillipps 8482. It also confirms Alden's statement that, while rural assets were much more "visible," it was "urban holdings [that] often produced higher rates of return." See Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 376.

152 For a list of those that did, see my dissertation, chapter 5.

153 See Vanves, Brotier 135, ff. 208–213 and others. See also Joseph Dehergne, "Les Biens de la Maison Française de Pékin en 1776–1778" *Monumenta Serica* XX (1961). I would like to thank the editorial office of Monumenta Serica for sending me a reprinted version of this article free of charge and within two weeks of my request.

154 I use the copies in Vanves Brotier 134 ff. 85–92 and Vanves Brotier 135 ff. 208–213. Dehergne used two copies in the French national archives, F^{5A} 24 f. 127 and following and f. 168 and following. See Dehergne, "Les Biens de la Maison Française de Pékin en 1776–1778," 247.

155 "*Bonnes oeuvres,*" were similar to the *Obras Pias* found in chapter eighteen of Núñez' manual. As Vogt explained, "religious orders had separate funds called *obras pias*, drawn from charitable bequests and endowments established for this purpose."Vogt, "Economic and Social Structures," 46.

graveyards (nine contracts), gardens (four contracts), and lands (twenty-five contracts).[156] The properties in Beijing were valued at over half a million French livres (553,930).[157] Urban real estate made up 73% of the total value of all French Jesuit properties.[158] After the (ex-)Jesuit procurator calculated the monthly and annual revenue of houses and shops, lands, terrains and graveyards, good works, and gardens, it turns out that revenue from houses and shops made up over 71% of the annual income.[159] Even though the evidence from accounting sources is highly fragmented for the China missions, this does seem to suggest that there was a clear shift in making the missions' budget balance from irregular gifts from local benefactors such as Candida Xu for example to relying on a monthly income from local real estate located in large cities. The goal of financial self-sustainability had been envisioned early on by Niccolò Longobardo in 1612. Even though Longobardo realized the limitations of early modern world travel posed a severe threat to this goal and he had hoped to overcome this by convincing benefactors in Europe to donate enough start-up capital for large-scale local investments that would provide financial security, in the end, the most important factor in achieving this goal was the 18th century stable economic and political environment during the so-called High Qing period. During the mid-17th century, the Ming-Qing transition undid any security the Jesuits had gained from real estate investments.[160] As China's economy was affected by the dynastic

156 Vanves, Brotier 134, f 87.

157 Dehergne, "Les Biens de la Maison Française de Pékin en 1776–1778," 263. The total annual revenue of the French missions was either 67,814 or 112,814 livres (depending on whether certain investments from Canton were lost or actually paid out).

158 73.9%. Vanves, Brotier 134, f. 88.

159 71.9%.

160 It is hard to calculate this precisely without adequate sources. However, the Portuguese Jesuit missions' finances were highly dependent on outside sources for the first seventy years (1582–1652), whereas the French Jesuit missions were almost completely independent after the same time (1701–1771). See for example reports on the history of the Catholic missions in China that were published between 1640 and 1680 such as Gabriel de Magalhães' (1610–1677) account of the Manchu invasion during the 1640s. The impression Magalhães creates is that the Jesuit properties were affected to such an extent that they had to start anew. After the invasion, mandarins promised patronage in the form of a new church, furniture, and presents. See ARSI, JapSin 127, ff. 2r-3v. See also Erik Zürcher, "In the Yellow Tiger's Den: Buglio and Magelhães at the Court of Zhang Xianzhong, 1644–1647," in *Monumenta Serica* 50 (2002): 356; ARSI, JapSin 162, f. 135; Martino Martini, *De Bello Tartarico* (Antwerp: 1654).

transition and the following Kangxi depression from the 1660s until the 1690s, so were the finances of the Jesuit missions in disarray.[161]

13.5 Conclusion

This last example confirms the link between Jesuit missions' finances and imperial (or colonial) backing or opportunities provided by overlapping political or mercantile European agencies. Stepping back, even the simplicity of the four categories of financial sources—royal patronage, private patronage, trade, and real estate—that Jesuits could access does not capture the somewhat chaotic economics of Jesuit missions globally. Jesuit finances do not perfectly fit within a division of the world along a model of American and Asian colonies. While a perfect picture of the Jesuit financial dealings may never be recuperated, it is however clear that, seen from an economic perspective, they were poor in some missions, rich in others. Through their financial successes and failures, it is above all else evident that they were part of ever-evolving early modern world economies that were not yet perfectly connected nor dominated by one region or actor.

161 During the second Qing reign, that of the Kangxi emperor (1661–1721), prices for grain, cash crops like cotton, arable land and finished cloth declined dramatically. For the next 30 years, until 1690, the Chinese economy experienced a prolonged depression. Mio Kishimoto, "The Kangxi Depression and Early Qing Local Markets," *Modern China* 10:2 (1984), 227–256. See also Richard von Glahn, *Fountains of Fortune: Money and Monetary Policy in China, 1000–1700* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1996; and private correspondence, June 2010).

CHAPTER 14

Missionaries: Who were They[1]

Christoph Nebgen

14.1 Introduction

Growing mobility, new media, quick news circulation, international networks, social and religious differentiation: these are all signs that seem to characterize exclusively our contemporary globalized world. But they also describe the living conditions and worldview of people in the early 16th century. People found themselves faced with the need to respond and act regarding the changes, brought about by a rapid series of events: initially, the Portuguese conquest of the oceans, followed by other continents, and on their heels, the Spaniards, English, Dutch, and French; printing and the ever more reliable and quicker postal service; the growing claims to power of aristocratic regimes and the bourgeoisie; and finally, the Reformation. The need for specialization and professionalization gave rise to new professions that formed a part of society.[2] One of these "new" professional groups of the 16th century in the Catholic world were the missionaries. A new religious order, the Society of Jesus, made this its very own task.[3] Abandoning classical monastic immobility, and acquiring thus an international and flexible character, the order became a valuable instrument of missions. Furthermore, there was the special oath to the pope to carry out his orders regardless of geographic location.

In the context of the patronage system, the growing mission fields represented primarily national enterprises of Christianization, in view of the Spanish and Portuguese expansion in Africa, Asia, and America. Given the absence

1 This chapter is translated from the German by R. Po-chia Hsia

2 On the multi-facets of the new professions and professional groups, see Rosario Villari, *Der Mensch des Barock*, (Frankfurt am Main: 1997).

3 Michael Sievernich points out that the idea of "mission" or "missionary"was first used in the context of the early Society of Jesus. See Sievernich, "Vision und Mission der Neuen Welt Amerika bei José de Acosta," in Michael Sievernich and Günter Switek (eds.), *Ignatianisch, Eigenart und Methode der Gesellschaft Jesu*, (Freiburg: 1990), 295. Also see Giancarlo Collet, "Wir aber schätzen das Leben und die Seele eines Indianers höher ein als alles Gold und Silber", in Sievernich and others (eds.), *Conquista und Evangelisation, Fünfhundert Jahre Orden in Lateinamerika*, (Mainz: 1992), 223.

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of a secular clergy overseas, the religious orders—initially the mendicants, and quickly after its foundation also the Jesuits—gave the most important support for this political enterprise.[4] The Jesuits provide a good example to demonstrate how the missions were carried out concretely, and how simultaneously the missionary activities overseas contributed significantly to the construction of their profile.[5] This paper will present not only who the missionaries were, but also the expectations and qualities of the missionaries, that is the norms of the Society.

14.2 The Model: Francis Xavier

The making of Xavier into the ideal type of the new, globally active Christian missionary began before his canonization in 1622: restless and ready to sacrifice himself, driven by the concern for the redemption of the "heathen", announcing the Gospels, a figure reminiscent of Boniface (672/673–754), thus corresponding to the traditional type of the holy missionary. The historical context, however, turned out to be completely different and essentially more complex than the time of inner-European missions of the early Middle Ages. First, Xavier had crossed new and unknown boundaries, in countries, languages, and culture, which was of great significance for the cultural demands of the future missionary. At the same time, while European Christian consciousness was becoming open to the world, the split within Christendom deepened with the Reformation's challenge to the Roman Church. For 16th century Catholic observers, the new missions opened up by Xavier and the conversions represented a compensation for the loss of faith in the Reformation that sprang from the soil of the Holy Roman Empire.[6] Many young Jesuits from there felt the calling to follow the footsteps of St. Xavier. Testimonies for the extent of the enthusiasm for missions are given in the extensive holdings of the extant letters of requests by European Jesuits, the so-called Litterae or Epistolae Indipetaru, who asked to be sent to India. About 22,000 letters from all of Europe

4 Bernd Hausberger, *Für Gott und König. Die Mission der Jesuiten im kolonialen Mexiko*, (München: 2000). An overview by Johannes Meier, see *Die Orden in Lateinamerika*. A historical review on this topic, see Sievernich, *Conquista*, 13–33.

5 Christoph Nebgen, *Missionarsberufungen nach Übersee in drei Deutschen Provinzen der Gesellschaft Jesu im 17. Und 18. Jahrhundert*, (Regensburg: 2007).

6 Christoph Nebgen, "Canisius und Indien—Kompensation und Erbauung," (ed.) Rolf Decot., *Konfessionskonflikt, Kirchenstruktur, Kulturwandel. Die Jesuiten im Reich nach 1556*, (Mainz: 2007), 99–111.

are in the Roman Archive of the Society.[7] This enthusiasm was also reflected in the surveys sent between 1540 and 1560 to members of the new Society by Hieronymo Nadal, a trusted companion of Ignatius. Every Jesuit had to answer the many questions on their place and date of birth, names of parents, brothers and sisters, the date of their entry into the order, their previous activities, illnesses, and their social background.[8] Nadal's survey tried to find out even more, for example: why did the member join the order? What would be his preferred assignment? Was he ready to bear witness to his faith even to martyrdom? And finally, does he long to follow Xavier to India or can he imagine fighting heretics in Germany. Some 70% of the 14–20 year olds were willing to go to India; even among Jesuits over 33 year old some 30% were ready to undertake the long voyage. In contrast, only 10% of the cohort of 14–20 year olds were ready to serve in the Holy Roman Empire. In response to the question, whether one was ready to declare a preference for Germany over India, only 4% of all age cohorts responded in the positive.[9] For Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits in the founding phase of the Company, India was the more attractive destination, even when the new German Assistancy showed a similar shortage of personnel as the overseas missions.

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7 Edmond Lamalle, "La documentation d'histoire missionnaire dans le 'Fondo Gesuitico' aux archives romaines de la Compagnie de Jesus", in *Euntes Docete* 21 (1968), 131–176. New publications on Indipetae: Amélie Vantard, "Les vocations missionnaires chez les Jésuites français aux xviie-xviiie siècles", in *Annales de Bretagne et des pays del l'ouest* 116 (2009), 9–22; Aliocha Maldavsky, "Pedir las Indias. Las cartas indipetae de los jesuitas europeos, siglos XVI-XVIII, ensayo historiográfico", in *Relaciones* 132 (2012), vol. XXXIII, 147–181; "Administrer les vocations missionnaires. Les Indipetae et l'organisation des expéditions de missionnaires aux Indes Occidentales au début du XVIIe siècle", in Bernard Vincent/Pierre-Antoine Fabre (eds.), *Notre lieu est le monde. Missions religieuses dans le monde ibérique à l'époque moderne*, (Rome: 2007), 45–70.

8 Thomas Vance Cohen, "Sociologie de la croyance jésuites au Portugal et en Espagne (1540–1562)", in Geneviève and Guy Demerson, Bernard Dompnier, Annie Regond (eds.), *Les Jésuites parmi les hommes aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles. Actes du Colloque de Clermont-Ferrand,* (avril 1985) (= Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand II, Nouvelle série, fascicule 25); Clermont-Ferrand, 1987, 21–34. A general survey of the voyages, see John W. O'Malley, *Die ersten Jesuiten*, (Würzburg: 2001), 24–26; Thomas Vance Cohen, "Why the Jesuits Joined, 1540–1600", in *Historical Papers* (published by the Canadian Historical association, 1974), 237–258; and his "The Social Origins of the Jesuits, 1540–1600", 2 volumes, Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1973.

9 These data are drawn from the table no. 6 with the title "La perte de l'élan missionaire avec l'âge avancé" in Cohen, "Sociologie de la croyance jésuites au Portugal et en Espagne (1540–1562)", 34.

These options in the spectrum of influence of the Company exercised a strong and growing attraction for young Catholic men in Europe to join the order. One of those who asked for India, Franz Lang, described his calling in this way: in his letter of request dated 28 September, 1676, Ingolstadt, he related a conversation with his parents in his youth, when they asked him whether he would prefer following the footsteps of his brother who became an Augustinian or another brother who became a Jesuit. And in answer to his question who these Jesuits were, his parents explained … that they were particularly distinguished men to travel to India, even to the most extreme regions of the globe, in order to bring people to God, where they offer up their blood for Christ in indescribable hardship and danger of life, even suffering the most severe tortures.[10] In these different ways, the Jesuits succeeded to establish their Company as the missionary order par excellence, and made it an unmistakeable part of their corporate identity.

14.3 The Political Conditions for the Central European Indipeta

Let us first examine the internal structure of the religious order, which was relevant for the admission of a candidate for the overseas mission of the Society. The German provinces serve as an example. As the responsible "Chief of Personnel", the General must decide on the allocation of members to locations and tasks, depending on their abilities and physical fitness. The interests of the superiors of the home province were also concerned, since they were naturally unwilling to let go of well-trained personnel from their own provinces.[11] Meanwhile, the understaffed overseas provinces regularly reminded the General that the missionary work of the Society could not be maintained without fresh personnel from Europe. For this purpose, the procurers of the overseas provinces would regularly travel to Europe and tried to recruit interested young Jesuits.[12] On top of this conflict of interest, there were further jurisdictional complications that were especially relevant for Jesuits of Central European provinces. The right of patronage, which granted Spain and Portugal authority

10 See ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 754, f. 184, the letter by Franciscus Lang on September 28, 1676, from Ingolstadt.

11 Nebgen, *Missionarsberufungen*, 175–183.

12 About the deeds of Félix Zubillaga, who was then procurer of the overseas provinces, see "El Procurador de las Indias Occidentales de la Compañía de Jesús", in: AHSI 43 (1953) 367–417; and "El procurador de la Compañía de Jesús en la Corte de España", in: AHSI XVI (1947) 1–55.

in ecclesiastical matters in their colonies severely restricted the admission of non-Iberian missionaries.[13] The following diagram represents this system:

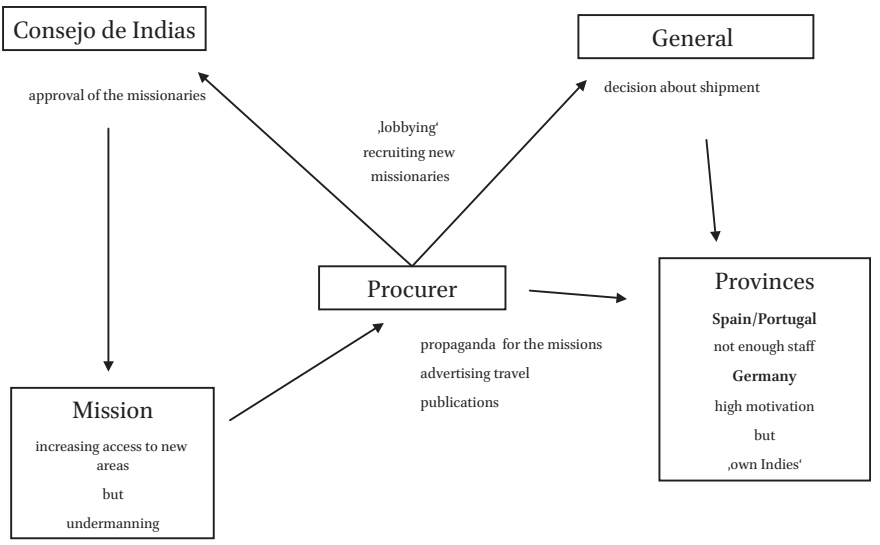


FIGURE 14.1: *Tasks and activities of the overseas procurers*

While the Council of the Indies in Spain regarded as unproblematic the admission of Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian Jesuits to the overseas missions, they looked askance at candidates from the Central European provinces because they came from the land of the Reformation. Three phases characterize the acceptance of German Indipetae to the overseas missions. First, the years 1615–17 at the time of the Seventh General Congregation of the Society was a key date. In this period, the enthusiasm for overseas missions were stimulated first by the overseas procurers, and then later by the policy of the new General Vitelleschi, who supported this partly for educational reasons, in order to stimulate the fervor and discipline within the German Assistancy, and partly on account of the understaffed overseas missions, especially in South America.[14] This initiative was followed by difficult years in the German provinces, caused by the plunders, epidemics, and losses in membership during the Thirty Years'

13 Lázaro de Aspurz, *La aportación extranjera a las Misiones españolas del Patronato region*, (Madrid: 1946).

14 In a letter to Melchior Hartel, the Priovincial of the the Upper-German Province, dated June 10, 1617, General Vitelleschi wrote: "Wenn nämlich auch viele nach den indischen Missionen verlangen und dieses Verlangen von Ew. Hochwürden und den andern Obern gehegt und gepflegt werden sollte, so wünsche ich dies, nicht weil ich glaube, alle nach

War. Only individual cases of German Jesuits were sent overseas, and under the strict conditions of the right of Iberian patronage.[15]

The next key date was 1664. The acceptance of Jesuits from the German Assistancy, which stood under Austrian Habsburg rule, allowed for real prospects for at least some of the Indipetae. The renewed demands from overseas procurers for the relaxation of restrictions in 1701 met with no response from the Council of the Indies due to the War of Spanish Succession. After 1715, however, some restrictions were lifted; and finally in 1734, a royal order abolished most of the restrictions. Under General Franz Retz (1730–50), a Bohemian, more missionaries from the German Assistancy were sent out than ever before.[16]

TABLE 14.1 *Central European Jesuits sent via Sevilla 1670–1759*[17]

Provinz	**Austria**			**Bohemia**			**Germ. Sup.**			**Rhen. Inf.**			**Rhen. Sup.**		
	P	B	S	P	B	S	P	B	S	P	B	S	P	B	S
1670–80	3	1	-	6	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1681–90	9	-	-	18	3	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1691–1700	-	-	-	12	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1701–10	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1711–20	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	3	1	3	-	-	-	-	-
1721–30	21	5	1	9	3	-	25	22	9	11	5	1	1	4	1
1731–40	9	1	-	8	2	-	7	5	2	7	-	-	-	-	-
1741–50	15	11	2	25	4	1	19	29	3	13	-	-	7	7	-
Ab 1751	4	4	-	17	11	6	7	15	2	6	1	-	3	1	-
Summen	61	22	3	95	26	9	101	74	17	40	6	1	11	12	1
	86			130			192			47			24		

Indien schicken zu können, sondern weil ich sehe, wie durch diese Aussicht in den meisten Provinzen ein neuer Geist und neuer Eifer und damit großer Eifer für Tugend und Wissenschaft erwacht." Cited from Bernhard Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*. 4 Vol., 1907–1928. Vol.2/2, 598. One copy of this letter can be found in ARSI, Germania 4, f. 192–194.

15 Nebgen, *Missionarsberufungen*, 42–50.

16 "P" refers to the priests, "B" to the brothers, and "S" to scholastics, namely the students.

17 About the criteria of selecting and sending Jesuits overseas, see Aspurz, *La aportación*, 278–319.

Drawn from embarkation figures of the Casa de Contratacíon in Seville, responsible for travel to the Spanish colonies, this Table shows clearly the afore-mentioned developments of the acceptance of Geman missionaries. After 1670 Jesuits from Habsburg lands, especially priests from Bohemia, adhere increasingly to this. During the War of Spanish Succession we can observe the complete ignoring of Central Europeans, subjects of the Habsburgs (and enemies of the Bourbon) until 1720, whereas those from the province of Upper Germany and to a lesser extent from Lower Rhine were tolerated by the new Bourbon rulers. However, the embarkation list of Spanish authorities showed no Jesuits from the Province of Upper Rhine shipped to Spanish colonies until 1720. Furthermore, it is striking the increase of South German Jesuits in the Spanish mission fields, especially the large number of brothers between 1741 and 1750. The decisive factor was the good reputation of South German artisans and pharmacists, who received an intensive training in the Landsberg Noviciat for missionaries,[18] and the recruitment of the Procurer for Upper Germany in Munich, Albert Hoffreither (1692–1768). The great demand for artisans caused the General to turn to the Provincial of the Upper Rhine Province in February 1749 for consultation.[19] The shipment of Jesuits who were still studying is important, both regarding the obedience of the Upper German Province, and also for the personnel crisis in the overseas provinces.[20] In 1728, students were sent to the Provinces of Quito and the Philippines, which were especially short-handed.[21] We can also mention the 1738 example of Father

18 Michael Müller, "Bayerns Tor nach Übersee—Das Missionsnoviziat der Jesuiten in Landsberg am Lech im 18. Jahrhundert," in Konrad Amann, Ludolf Pelizaeus, Annette Reese and Helmut Schmahl (eds.), *Bayern und Europa:Festschrift für Peter Claus Hartmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, (Frankfurt: 2005), 169–184. Also see his "Der bayerische Jesuit KarlHaimhausen (1692–1767)." The same author'sarticle on the organization of the German mission at Chile in the 18th century is in *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte*, Bd. 67, Heft 2 (2004), 297–330, here: 314–319. Earlier publication: Joachim Dellinger, "Geschichte des Jesuitenkollegs in Landsberg," in *Oberbayerisches Archiv* 14 (1853/1854), 115–145; Elisabeth Ringler, *Das Noviziat der Gesellschaft Jesu in Landsberg am Lech 1574–1773*, (Zulassungsarbeit an der Kath.-Theol. Fak. der LMU,1992); Anton Huonder, "Das Missionsnoviziat der Oberdeutschen Ordensprovinz der Gesellschaft Jesu zu Landsberg im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Die katholischen Missionen* 54 (1926), 193–197.- Sommervogel (as in note 11) Bd. IV, 1459–66.

19 See ARSI, Rhenania Superior 5, 814: General Retz's letter to Provincial Kaspar Hoch, dated February 1, 1749, asking about the masons, constructors, pharmacists, goldsmiths and carpenters.

20 Müller, "Bayerns Tor nach Übersee," 178.

21 See ARSI, Germania Superior 14, 964: General Tamburini's letter to P. Magnus Amman, the Provincial of the Germania Superior, written on July 31, 1728. Tamburini here

Hundertpfund, who quickly passed his examination and hurriedly ordained, in order not to miss the ship for the Maranhão mission in Brazil.[22]

In this way General Retz reacted directly to the lack of personnel in overseas missions and simultaneously opened up the global missions for Jesuits of the German Assistancy. The following table shows the comparative success rates of candidates for the three Central Europeqn provinces of Upper Germany, Upper Rhine, and Lower Rhine:

TABLE 14.2 *Rates of shipment*

Provinz	Kandidaten	in die Missionen	† bei der Überfahrt
Germania Superior	408	89 (22,4%)	9 (10,1%)
Rhenania Superior	80	9 (11,3%)	1 (11%)
Rhenania Inferior	134	22 (16,4%)	8 (36,4%)
Gesamt	611	118 (19,3%)	18 (15,3%)

Upper Germany not only furnished the largest number of candidates; they were also more successful. While every fifth Upper German missionary candidate found his wish fulfilled, only every ninth Jesuit from the Upper Rhine Province could claim the same. For Lower Rhine it was every seventh candidate. The reason for this was in the development of the provinces, which we have seen. Other factors were the relative proximity of the Lower Rhine to the Spanish Netherlands and Upper Germany to Milan (ruled by Spain), and their proximity to provinces, such as Austria, Belgica, and the Italian provinces, which gave easier neighboring access for overseas missions. This applied especially to Upper Germany and for those Jesuits who were Habsburg subjects. The place of origins of shipped missionaries demonstrates that the majority came from Further Austria, Tirol, and the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, as well as from Munich. Many of this latter group were shipped between 1710 and 1720 during the War of Spanish Succession, when Spain rejected missionaries from Habsburg lands and preferred Bavarians.[23] For the two Rhine provinces, the majority

answered the inquiry by the procurers of Philipine and Quito and explicitly allowed the recruitment of eligible students, who were still taking theological courses.

22 See ARSI, Germania Superior 15, 334: General Retz' letter to Provincial Rudolph Burckhard, dated September 6, 1738.

23 Nebgen, *Missionarsberufungen*, 88–90.

of missionaries were shipped only later when conditions were relaxed by the Spanish throne.

14.4 Qualifications for the Missionary Candidate

Other than these juridical conditions, it was chiefly the personal qualities of the candidate that was decisive for the superiors. In informing the public of the missionary success of the Society and in presenting exemplars of the calling and profession of the overseas missionary, publications by the Society stated openly the desired qualities.[24] Two epistolary collections were key, which could be characterized thematically not only as propaganda for the mission but also as propaganda for the missionary (in so far as they aimed to recruit missionaries): the French *Lettres édifiantes*[25] and the German *Neue Welt-Bott*.[26]

With more German Jesuits admitted to overseas missions after 1670, personal correspondence between the two Indies and the Holy Roman Empire intensified. Most were private letters between missionaries and their families and fellow Jesuits from their home provinces. These reports were often read aloud in the whole communities of Jesuit colleges, where the fates of the overseas missionaries were followed with great interest.[27] The Oettinger Jesuit Joseph Stöcklein, founder and editor, collected, translated, and published these

24 A general survey on the topic of exemplar ways of life led by the Jesuits and its representation in the publications of the Society, see Markus Friedrich, "Beispielgeschichten in den jesuitischen Litterae Annuae: Überlegungen zur Gestaltung und Funktion einer vernachlässigten Literaturgattung," in Jens Ruchatz, Stefan Willer and Nicolas Pethes (eds.), *Das Beispiel: Epistemologie des Exemplarischen*, (Literaturforschung B 4). 2008. 143–166.

25 André Rétif, "Brève histoire des Lettres édifiantes et curieuses," in *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 7 (1951), 37–50.

26 Helmut Platzgummer, "Stöcklein, Joseph," in DHCJ, Bd. IV, 3641.

27 See the letter by Wilhelm Penten, sent from Cologne, dated June 7, 1710, in which he mentioned that the message about the death of Philip Bourel, a Brazilian missionary who came from Cologne, also arrived in his hometown Jesuit college at that time. Henceforth he believed that a new position for missionary became available, which he would very much like to apply for. See ARSI, Rhenania Inferior 15, f. 253: "Ecce locus in Brasiliam, qui vacat per mortem Patris Borel, inter labores apostolicos ibidem defuncti …"

diverse letters in his Neue Welt-Bott,[28] a precursor of the modern missionary journal.[29]

These printed texts described the conditions in the missions and conveyed the qualities needed in a potential missionary. Father Andreas Suppetius (1654–1712),[30] described in his letter from Santiago de Chile, (15 December, 1701), which appeared in Volume One of the Neue Welt-Bott the following conditions in the Chilean province: "The 150 members of our province include Spaniards, Frenchmen, Germans, Dutchmen, Austrians, Bohemians, Sardinians, Sicilians, Neapolitans, Milanese, and Portuguese; in short, from almost every European province … united in the bond of fraternal love or apostolic community. But our small numbers are not adequate for the great work that lies before us."[31]

Therefore, Suppetius requested from his Bohemian Provincial (at a time when the War of Spanish Succession made things most difficult for Central Europeans): "Therefore I beg Your Honor most obligingly not to ignore the calls of the Father Procurer, but to send appropriate young men from our province, who are virtuous, patient, indefatigable, courageous, friendly with people and earnest in morals. Whoever lacks these qualities here will be subjected to so many dangers and opportunities, which almost every missionary is open to,

28 The whole title is "Der Neue Welt=Bott mit allerhand Nachrichten dern Missionarium Soc. Jesu. Allerhand so Lehr= als Geist=reiche Brieff, Schrifften und Reise=Beschreibungen, welche von denen Missionariis der Gesellschaft JESU aus den Beyden Indien, und anderen über Meer gelegenen Ländern, meistentheils von 1730. bis 1740. in Europa angelangt seyn. Jetzt zum erstenmal theils aus Hand=schrifftlichen Urkunden, theils aus denen Französichen Lettres Edifiantes verteutscht und zusammengetragen von Joseph Stöcklein, gedachter Societät Jesu Priester." Vol. 1–3: Augsburg and Graz: Veith,1727–1736; Vol. 4–5 (published by. P. Propst/Franz Keller), (Vienna: 1748–1758). A tabular representation of the publication of the Weltbott could be found in Georg Stoll: "'Väter' und 'Kinder': Zur Konzeptualisierung eigener und fremder Identität in Berichten deutschsprachiger Jesuiten-Missionare aus dem 18. Jahrhundert am Beispiel Südamerika," in Monika Pankoke-Schenk and Georg Evers (eds.), *Inkulturation und Kontextualität, Theologien im weltweiten Austausch, Festgabe für Ludwig Bertsch SJ zum 65. Geburtstag*, (Frankfurt am Main: 1994), 65–89, here: 69.

29 Anton Huonder, "P. Joseph Stöckleins 'Neuer Welt-Bott', ein Vorläufer der 'katholischen Missionen' im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Die katholischen Missionen* 33 (1904/05), 1–4, 30–33, 80–83, 103–107.

30 On further biograohical information of Father Andreas Suppetius, see Anton Huonder, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg im Breisgau: 1899), 139.

31 See Neue Weltbott, Bd. 1, Teil 3, Nr. 70, 28–30; here Nr. 28.

living alone, dependent on the grace of God, who may suffer shipwreck of his own soul, diminishing rather than increasing in virtues and spiritual perfection, more a nuisance than an exemplar in the vineyard of the Lord, doing little work and achieving nothing, only to make himself and his province an object of ridicule and scandal in the eyes of the Spaniards, who are used to judge all foreigners through their condescending lenses and all too eager to despise them."[32]

The Chilean missionary Suppetius points to the severe need for workers in the field, described a profile of the missionary which resembles that of the ideal Jesuit, and did not forget to warn about miscalculations in the selection process. The missionary life was in no ways painted in heroic colors, rather in realistic strokes to illustrate the potentially drastic consequences for someone lacking the right qualifications. His detailed description of consequences resulting from incompetence of the missionary seemed to have been taken from real life.[33]

A similar picture was conveyed by a collective letter by eight Jesuits written in 1723 from Cartagena, also published in the first volume of the Welt-Bott.: "We want to admonish, however, that those who desire to go to the Indies must have no other purpose other than to serve the honor of God and to save souls. For they would find nothing else. If however, they were seeking to spend their time in unbound liberties and laziness, or pursuing great honors, or such things, they would be deceiving themselves. Either they would lose their calling or be saddened until death, or return to their province, or, even if they stayed, they would be appointed by their Spanish superior to other tasks in the colleges in order to avoid any nuisance."[34]

This letter conveys a clear insight on the qualities expected of a missionary: adventurers and self-promoters were unsuitable for the missions and would find neither recognition nor personal affirmation in the overseas provinces. Father Ernst Steigmiller (1697–1737)[35] used even more drastic words in his 1724 letter written in New Granada: "To these wide-open and fertile [mission] fields I invite all those who have been truly called by God to apostolic work.

32 Ibid., 29.

33 An overview of the essential qualities for an overseas missionary, see Vincente Sierra, *Los Jesuitas germanos en la conquista espiritual de Hispanoamérica. Siglos XVII–XVIII*, (Buenos Aires: 1944), 76–82.

34 See Neuer Weltbott, Bd. 1, Teil 8, Nr. 210, 35–40; here: 39.

35 About Father Ernst Steigmiller, see Johannes Meier, Christoph Nebgen, *Jesuiten aus Zentraleuropa in Portugiesisch- und Spanisch-Amerika. Ein bio-bibliographisches Handbuch*, Bd. 3: Neugranada (1618–1771), (Münster: 2008), 194–198.

Let no man fool himself, but examine whether his spirit is moved by God. Whoever longs for India because he is frustrated in Europe may escape his humiliation there but will find here nothing but endless shame and disdain. Fastidious little cushion dogs striving only for their comfort, soft little men made of wax, offensive even to pregnant women, who want to suffer neither stink nor din, hunger nor thirst, ridicule nor slander, hardship nor setbacks, as suitable for the mission as a rabbit running in a storm … For these reasons the provinces should not blindly send anyone to the missions whom the superior had not first examined, lest he should preach in such a way to the unbelievers that he be condemned by God. If he nonetheless wants to be an apostolic worker, he will first have to train in the colleges and cities before being let loose on the new settlements and villages."[36]

The repeated descriptions of the consequences of unsuitable candidates and the emphasis on their strict examinations by superiors certainly had an immediate intimidating effect on those who thought of applying for the missions. On the other hand, this negative description also highlighted an ideal missionary in contrast, which inspired those highly qualified and ambitious Jesuits. A more rigorous selection of candidates in the German Assistancy is reflected in a letter written by Nicolas Schindler in 1736 (1696–1740),[37] published in Part 29 of the Welt-Bott: "I want to make known to all, what I have now learned, set aflame by the holy zest with its heart-felt longings, to be placed in these faraway lands and devote entirely to the redemption of our heathens. Experience teaches us that in this difficult vineyard of the Lord, there is no better worker than those of the German Nation. For this reason the Spaniards honor them more than others, love them, and send them for the important tasks. But they must be men who bring with them from Europe deep learning and solid virtues. Otherwise, they would bring neither honor to the province they left nor use to that they enter. They must be dead to their friends and Fatherland and dream of nothing in India concerning comfort, honor, and similar human intentions, whose hopes they have left and magnanimously vanquished in Europe."[38]

In his communique of 1734 to all European provinces regarding recruitment for overseas missions, General Retz gave a concrete description of the qualifications for a future missionary, which would be suitable overseas. All

36 See Neuer Weltbott, Bd. II, Teil 14, Nr. 324, 68–72; here: 71.

37 Huonder, *Jesuitenmissionäre*, 128

38 See Neuer Weltbott, Bd. IV/2, Teil 29, Nr. 565, 82–84; here: 83.

candidates should reply to the items in the following questionnaire in their application to the General:

1. Name, origins, age, status within the Society, education, and offices held.
2. Information on physical conditions.
3. Whether he will bring wisdom or other talents useful for the mission in praise of God.
4. Does he have the right motivation.
5. Is he considerate and insightful of the customs of that country.
6. Does he have a strong enough calling to endure the difficulties and dangers of that mission.
7. Whether he is pious, dead [to the world], poverty-loving, obedient, indifferent regarding place and office, modest, calm, fraternal, and peaceful.
8. Whether he possesses a sufficient spiritual zeal and ready to redeem souls despite hardship and discomfort.

For the *coadjutors temporales* it was sufficient to declare that they love physical work and were ready to accept hardship for the honor of God.[39]

This questionnaire demonstrates the importance of good health and body for candidates for the overseas missions. The positive and negative examples described in the letters of the Welt-Bolt agree almost entirely with the expected qualities of an overseas missionary as specified by the General, even though the letter writers give individual and more concrete examples. The emphasis in this publication was meant not only to describe the hard conditions of

39 See ARSI, Epistolae Nostrorum 9, 151, General Retz's letter to all the German assistants of the provinces, dated October 8, 1734: "Capita informationis de iis, qui petiunt missiones transmarinas. 1.) Nomen, Patria, aetas, gradus in Societate, studia et ministeria, quae exercuit. 2.) An habeat sufficientes vires corporis et sanitatem. 3.) An ea prudentia, aliisque talentis praeditus sit, ut in illis regionibus utiliter ad DEI gloriam laborare possit. 4.) An videatur recta intentione duci ad petendas eas missiones. 5.) An sit bonae indolis et tractabilis, ac videatur se accomodaturus moribus illarum nationum. 6.) An videatur constans in vocatione, ac tam solidae virtutis, ut illarum Missionum difficultatibus, et periculis tuto exponi possit. 7.) Nominatim an sit devotus, mortificatus, amans paupertatis, obediens, et indifferens ad loca et officia, humilis, mansuetus, Charitatis fraternae, et pacis studiosus. 8.) An habeat zelum animarum, sitque paratus ad perferendam labores, et incommoda pro Dei gloria et animarum salute. Pro coadjutoribus temporalibus satis erit explicare in ultimo articulo, an sit amans laboris, et paratus perferre incommoda pro Dei gloria."

overseas missions, but also to warn off unsuitable missionary candidates. The Indipeta letter can be seen as a letter of solicitation which offers information for the General to compare the different candidates and measure them against established criteria. The candidates must also reckon with these expectations, for which motivation, abilities and qualifications count, and that they were not naïve in their applications, but had already taken the missionary profile into account.

The self-image presented by candidates in the letters is characterized by a latent contradiction between Jesuit indifference on the one hand and the desire for the Indies on the other.[40] This implies that the candidate both had to follow the Society's ideal of complete indifference, availability for every task, and, with the Fourth Vow, the implication of willingness to serve anywhere, while at the same time to express in their solicitation letter a specific desire, a description of themselves and their qualities, which the candidates guessed might fit with the demands of superiors, in order to satisfy the real conditions of an overseas assignment. The candidates often cited these ideal qualities to justify themselves: the often cited words of Francis Xavier on German robustness, the astronomical knowledge of Adam Schall von Bell, skill in handicrafts, and the willingness to serve in many tasks.

In evaluations, superiors weighed heavily the health of the candidates, having learned from bad experiences with unsuitable missionaries after their arrival overseas. Knowing this, the candidates dropped hints of their absolutely suitable physical conditions. Priestly candidates often emphasized their scientific qualifications, thanks to the perception of the Jesuit mission in China within the Society that stated astronomical and mathematical knowledge as prerequisite for those wishing to enter the Asian missions. The knowledge of foreign languages were also mentioned, particularly aggressively by the brothers. Physical endurance, sufficient intellectual and manual abilities, for the fathers and brothers 'respectively, represented the hurdles to overcome for those who received an apostolic call for overseas missions. Some stories of applications show the juxtaposition of a healthy apostolic zeal and an almost pathological obsession for the mission.[41]

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40 Anna Rita Capoccia, "Per una lettura delle Indipetae italiane del settencento. 'Indifferenza' e desiderio di martirio", in *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* 1 (2000), 7–43.

41 Stories about Brother Micheal Klein's career provide illustrative examples. See Nebgen, *Missionarsberufungen*, 220–226. Also see the interesting studies by William W. Meissner, *Ignatius von Loyola. Psychogramm eines Heiligen*, (Freiburg/Basel/Wien: 1997), 445. Here Meissner examines the process of interaction related to abuses, on how the spiritual exercise drew Loyola near to the late medieval spiritual exercisers, which further enabled

14.5 Other Media for the Propagation of the Call

The self-understanding of Roman Catholicism as an afflicted church could be seen more clearly overseas. When a Francis Xavier traveled the oceans of Asia as an apostle braving all difficulties, announcing the Gospels in complete self-sacrifice, one could place this in the tradition of the first apostolic community and the persecuted martyrs' church. Therefore, the cult of the overseas martyr served not only as a model for living one's life,[42] but also to establish a group identity, which marked differences to other confessions by martyrs and their confessions of truth.

The foundational power of martyrdom was often used during the confessional struggles of the early modern centuries to highlight one's theological viewpoints as the truth. The exemplary and often "heroic" death of the individual verified the claim to truth of the group.[43] The dramatization and presentation of martyrdom used many different media forms in the early modern period: songs, theater, and images depict the themes of confessional struggles and the exemplary influence of the faithful of one's own confession.

On the Catholic side, the Jesuits were the most skillful in staging the cult of the martyr. The overseas missions of the order provided a true treasure for exemplars, which were impressively dramatized on the stage of confessional competition.[44] Jesuits appeared as heroic witnesses of the faith in martyrologies, on the stage, in songs and paintings, in settings exotic for the European, and thus represented both the Catholic and the Jesuit causes.[45] In this way the ideal profile of a future missionary is represented visually in life and blood.

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him to follow the way of *Imitatio Christi*. Meissner diagnoses here from a psychoanalytical perspective a masochistic inclination, which can also be used as a possible way to escape the realities.

42 On the medieval idea of Christendom, see Thomas Füser, "Vom exemplum Christi über das exemplum sanctorum zum Jedermannsbeispiel. Überlegungen zur Normativität exemplarischer Verhaltensmuster im institutionellen Gefüge der Bettelorden des 13. Jahrhunderts," in Gert Melville and Jörg Oberste (eds.), *Die Bettelorden im Aufbau: Beiträge zu Institutionalisierungsprozessen im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum*, (Münster: 1999), 27–105. An overall review on the changing perception of martyrdom, see Sigrid Weigel (ed.), *Märtyrer-Porträts: Von Opfertod, Blutzeugen und Heiligen Kriegern* (München: 2007).

43 Here see Peter Burschel, "Selig sind, die heute Unrecht erleiden. Sterben, nicht töten: Der Sinn des christlichen Martyriums," FAZ 40 (17. Februar 2003), 42.

44 Friedrich, *Beispielgeschichten*, 143–166.

45 The following accounts are largely based on the Chapter 3 of Nebgen's book, entitled "the Targeted Preparation for the Ideal of the Missionary within the Society of Jesus," see *Missionarsberufungen*, 107–146.

The different functions in the media preparations of overseas martyrs, in the liturgical memorialization, can be described by the three stages in rhetoric: to teach, to delight, and to move.[46] In addition to the pedagogic and entertaining character of martyrdom, its media representation also served to lead behavior to the spiritual asceticism of the order's founder, Ignatius of Loyola.[47] Similar to the founder's conversion from soldier to priest after reading the stories of saints, the examples of holy lives served also to educate future generations in the order. Next we will examine the different media that represented this ideal of self-sacrifice on the part of the missionary.

14.6 Theater

Elida Maria Szarota has characterized Jesuit theater as the baroque precursor of modern mass media.[48] Its didactic nature and its propagation of themes and viewpoints guided public discourse and proved to have a strong influence in shaping opinion, so that one can say that it catches on to a modern concept, the perception of people as visual beings.[49] The pedagogic impact of drama, described by Szarota as manipulative, aimed at both the audience as well as the players. In cultivating the productive abilities of the students at Jesuit colleges, in imagining themselves as people in other historical and cultural contexts, Jesuit theater could well leave a permanent impact and change their character, in true expansion of their personhood.[50] In this manner, Jesuit theater represented the best example for the tripartite functioning of media in the interest of the Society, in addition to the undoubted didactic nature of the plays (to teach), Jesuit theater productions were considered in their time brilliant cultural entertainment (to delight), and decidedly exercised a pedagogic function (to move).[51]

46 Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke, *Visuelle Medien im Dienst der Gesellschaft Jesu. Johann Christoph Storer (1620–1671) als Maler der Katholischen Reform*, Jesuitica 3 (Regensburg: 2000), 18–35.

47 Erhard Kunz, "'Bewegt von Gottes Liebe'. Theologische Aspekte der ignatianischen Exerzitien und Merkmale jesuitischer Vorgehensweise," in Michael Sievernich and Günter Switek (eds.), *Ignatianisch: Eigenart und Methode der Gesellschaft Jesu*, (Freiburg: 1990), 75–95.

48 Elida Maria Szarota, "Das Jesuitendrama als Vorläufer der modernen Massenmedien," in *Daphnis. Zeitschrift für Mittlere Deutsche Literatur*, Bd. 4, Heft 2 (1975), 129–143.

49 Erich Feldmann, *Theorie der Massenmedien* (München-Basel: 1972), 160.

50 Ibid., 132.

51 An overview of Jesuit theaters, see Christoph Nebgen, "Religiöses Theater (Jesuitentheater)", in European History Online (EGO), published by the Institute of European

The letters of the missionary candidates support Szarota's point. Many letters refer to the theater and its effect of stimulating the calling of young missionaries. Karl Sonnenberg (1614–68), for example, wrote to the General in 1635 how he had once played a Japanese boy on the stage, who had to cut off the ear of the statue of an Asian idol; ever since then he was fascinated by the Asian missions.[52] Johannes Codonaeus (1657–85) explained that his decision to enter the Society of Jesus came after he had played the role of Thomas More on stage. Consequently he was attracted to England: "Twelve years ago when I was still a student in Rhetoric I played Thomas More, the Chancellor of England, on stage. In the same year, I swore to enter the Society on account of a dangerous illness. Eight years after my oath I was accepted on the ground that it would serve my own redemption as well as the conversion of England."[53]

One can recognize in this unconscious influence of students by the propagation of leaders and exemplars an essential element of the modernization and reform movement of Catholic confessionalization.[54] The theater of Jesuit colleges offered an unique platform not only for the intended presentation and discussion of themes in society. In view of its pedagogic influence on the individual, the theater not only strengthened Christian virtues, but also contained hidden or open Counter-Reformation elements of the Society of Jesus.[55]

History (IEG), Mainz 2010-12-03. URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/nebgenc-2010-de URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-20100921613 [07.12.2015].

52 See ARSI, Germ. Sup. 18 III, 470–471: Carolus Sonnenberg's letter on March 1635, sent from Fribourg, Switzerland: "Fovebam a primis iam annis ad Societatem animum, ut tertium aetatis annum, quo litteras sum auspicatus, vixdum egressus parentibus, ad quem statum appellere vellem rogantibus ad Jesuitarum ordinem responderim. Brevi post prima quam egi in comedia pueri Japonici persona obtigit, ut aurem simulacro amputarem."

53 See ARSI, Rhen. Inf. 15, 148, Ioannes Codonaeus's 1686 letter from Cologne: "Rhetorices olim ego studiosus ante annos 12 egi in theatro publice pro finali actione Thomam Morum Cancellarium Angliae, eodemque anno periculose aeger feci votum ineundi Societatem JESU; ad quam ante annos circiter octo juxta votum meum admissus fui, illa de causa ut tandem aliquando et saluti propriae et proximorum conversioni in Anglia deservire possem."

54 Jean-Marie Valentin, "Gegenreformation und Literatur: Das Jesuitendrama im Dienste der religiösen und moralischen Erziehung", in *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft* 100 (1980), 240–256.

55 Jean-Marie Valentin, "Jesuiten-Literatur als gegenreformatorische Propaganda," in Harald Steinhagen (ed.), *Zwischen Gegenreformation und Frühaufklärung. Späthumanismus, Barock* (Deutsche Literatur: Eine Sozialgeschichte 3, Reinbek bei Hamburg, Rowohlt, 1985), 172–205; Fidel Rädle, "Das Jesuitentheater in der Pflicht der Gegenreformation," in Jean-Marie Valentin (ed.), *Gegenreformation und Literatur. Beiträge zur interdisziplinären Erforschung der katholischen Reformbewegung* (an extra volume of *Daphnis*, 3; *Daphnis* 8, Heft 3/4, 1979, Amsterdam 1979), 167–199.

The frequent performances of missions, which were contemporary events and themes, served not only pedagogy and delectation, but also demonstrated the vitality of Catholicism, bound by its global heroism to the time of the apostles, who were presented as forerunners of the Jesuit order.

Japanese martyrs were presented on European Jesuit theater early on.[56] The main sources were Nicolas Trigault's The Triumph of Christians in Japan (1623) and Cornelis Hazart's (1617–90) Ecclesiastical History of Japan, which was published in 1678 in German, and the 1709 History of the Society of Jesus by Joseph Juventius. At first, the plays followed historical events closely, but developed their own life during the 17th and 18th centuries, with greater emphasis on concepts and staging rather than historical accuracy. First performed in 1629 in Augsburg, Titus of Bungo was the most popular playand conquered Jesuit stages in all of Europe.[57] The story was taken from the Litterae Annuae of 1614, which reported on the torture and steadfastness of the Japanese Christian samurai, who was prepared to sacrifice his own children (like Abraham with Isaac), rather than renounce his faith. In general noblemen, lords, and princes appeared in this drama of Japanese Christianity, giving a shining example for their heroic faith.[58] Naturally, the life of Xavier also served as dramatic material. In the month of his birth in 1710 the play Xavier, victor over the vanities of the world was performed;[59] other Xavier plays were performed between the 16th and 18th centuries in Augsburg, Olemouc, Freiburg, Vienna, Straubing, Emmerich, Lucerne, and Aachen.[60] In 1698 when the cloths that had wrapped the saint's body in India were brought to Paderborn, the students of rhetoric at the college performed a melodrama on the eighth day after his feast, in which this new church treasure was compared to the Golden Fleece. In Cologne the play How Xavier died in China was performed in 1732; in Emmerich, How Xavier triumphed over idolatry was performed in 1735. With

56 Thomas Immoos, "Japanische Helden des europäischen Barocktheaters," in *Maske und Kothurn: Internationale Beiträge zur Theaterwissenschaft* 7 (1981), Heft 1, 36–56. A general overview on the use of asian themes in Jesuit theaters, see Adrian Hsia and Ruprecht Wimmer, *Mission und Theater: China und Japan auf den deutschen Bühnen der Gesellschaft Jesu* Jesuitica 7 (Regensburg: 2005).

57 Willi Flemming, *Geschichte des Jesuitentheaters in den Landen deutscher Zunge*, (Berlin: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte,1923), 227; 240.

58 Johannes Beckmann, "Der Missionsgedanke auf Schweizer Bühnen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Bethlehem* 37 (1932), 292–296.

59 Anton Dürrwächter, "Das Jesuitentheater in Eichstätt," in *Sammelblatt des Historischen Vereins Eichstätt* 10 (1896), 43–102, hier 64 u. 67.

60 Johannes Müller, *Das Jesuitendrama in den Ländern deutscher Zunge vom Anfang (1555) bis zum Hochbarock (1665)*, 2 Vols, (Augsburg: 1930), here Vol. 2, 112.

growing enthusiasm for China in Europe, Chinese themes became more prominent in Jesuit theatre. Following the principle "The victim is the victor", Jesuit missionaries depicted Chinese Christians as figures in these plays.[61] Only in the second half of the 17th century was there a slow opening for themes in mission history from other continents.

14.7 Songs about Missions

The most famous examples of songs about the missions within the German language realm, especially Xavier, were the Golden Book of Virtues (Güldenes Tugendbuch) and the Trutz-Nachtigall of Friedrich Spee. Himself a candidate for the missions, Spee cited especially in his Tugendbuch Xavier and other overseas missionaries, such as Francisco Pinto (1552–1608) and or martyrs of the Jesuit mission, all reminiscent in their intentions and fate the ascetic program of virtue. The reader is thus inspired especially in the tenth and eleventh chapters of Part One of the Golden Book of Virtue both in thought and emotion of the torture of the martyrs. Spee promotes the method of sensual application that highlights martyrdom. Also in his poem about Xavier in the Trutz-Nachtigall, which describes his embarkation for Japan, has a more military undertone, whereas the people of exotic Asia are missing. This observation is equally valid for the fifth strophe of his "The heroic Xavier" in the Golden Book of Virtues, with a tone of mission ascetic, emphasizing the expected suffering, dangers, and obstacles, carried by a deep longing for preaching the faith, with the regret that not all heathens were already converted. The text focuses on missionary enthusiasm as a value in itself, thereby expressing the homebound Spee's subjective longings, without any mention of alien cultures and the geographical impact of Xavier's missions.

In his application for overseas missions Spee was stingy with information about the origins of his calling, in contrast to many other Jesuits, who supplied far more information for the General about their motivations and qualifications. By Comparison Spee was monosyllabic and almost mystically reserved. India had wounded his soul, he wrote; this passion burned in him like glowing coal, and despite his attempt to suppress it, it has flamed up. His later poems also reflected this highly subjective tone in the sublimation of his desires for

61 An extensive delineation of the Chinese materials could be found in Claudia von Collani, "Theaterstücke mit chinesischen Themen auf bayerischen Jesuitenbühnen", in Peter Claus Hartmann and Alois Schmid (eds.), *Bayerisch-chinesische Beziehungen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (München: 2008), 35–72.

the overseas mission. The meditations on the achievements of Xavier address the theme off his inner and external struggles, his courage and spiritual fervor. The second strophe of "Xavier the Hero" describes the feelings of the missionary candidate Spee himself, imagined in the role of a missionary in Asia:

> Stop, stop, it is too difficult for me
> Grace is overpowering for me
> Spiritual fervor is boiling over
> Burning me all over
> The heat is almost unbearable
> The passion, Oh God, is unendurable!

14.8 The Martyrology of Matthias Tanner

Visual images made a more powerful impression than words in representing martyrs overseas, sparing no details and gore in scenes of the heroic deaths. Foremost in this genre was the illustrated martyrology of the Jesuit Matthias Tanner (1630–92), which was also translated into German in 1683.[62] He presents 304 Jesuits martyrs in this work: only 68 died in Europe, the same number in Africa, 50 in the Americas, and 120 in Asia.[63]

These illustrations depict Jesuits as fearless fighters against idolatry, who stoically accepted their fates and willingly died for it. Foreign cultures are represented in stereotypes: a Japanese, for example, wears a turban and a pagoda appears in the background in a scene about South America. The martyrology also includes converts, who died for the Christian faith due to the hatred of their countrymen. Death is depicted in all possible ways; the body of the martyrs serves as the virtuous instrument for enduring suffering. The cruler the torure, the greater and more impressive the witness for the truth, thus the message of the images. "The blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians", so it reads

62 "Matthias Tanner, Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem pro Deo et Christina Religione militans in omnibus Mundi partibus fortitudinis sua trophaea erigit", (Prague: 1675). The German version: "Die Gesellschaft Jesu Bis zur Vergiessung ihres Blutes wider den Gotzendienst, Unglauben und Laster, für Gott, den wahren Glauben, und Tugendten in allen vier Theilen der Welt streitend: Das ist: Lebens-Wandel, und Todes-Begebenheit der jenige, die aus der Gesellschaft Jesu umb verthätigung Gottes, des wahren Glaubens, und der Tugenden, gewalthätiger Weiß hingerichtet worden," (Prague: 1683).

63 Burschel, *Sterben und Unsterblichkeit,* 229.

on a folded-out page devoted to the Asian missions in the martyrology. Spilled blood and the sacrificed lives of the martyrs were investments in a positive future of this redemptive economy of grace. In the allegorical representation of the Asian mission field angels are watering the graves of martyrs with their blood, and here and there sprouts are bursting forth, carrying crosses as their fruit, symbols for the Christianity that springs out of the roots of Jesuit martyrs.

Huge paintings are still extant that once decorated the Jesuit college in Paderborn and the Noviciat for missionaries in Landsberg am Lech; they depict 128 Jesuit martyrs, overwhelmingly from overseas missions.[64] To supplement these images of those willing to die, there were also representations of Aloysius of Gonzaga, Stanislaus Kostka, and Jan Berchmans, young Jesuit students exhausted by their studies and who died young, as examplars of "white martyrdom", juxtaposed to those killed in adventures overseas missions.

14.9 The Use of Matryrdom for Recruitment

What effort did this propagation of "heroic death overseas" exert? To what extent were those affected moved? The aforementioned letters of petition furnish numerous examples of the impact of this propaganda on young Jesuits, be it theater, literature, or images, that moved them to conform their lives to these models. "Colossal is the martyrdom, unable to become a martyr"[65]: this apparently paradoxical complaint is from the letter of Philipp Jeningen (1642–1704),[66] dated 2 February, 1686, sent from Ellwangen to the general Charles de Noyelle (1615–86). He had already written many times asking the General for a transfer and expressed his desire for martyrdom. Father Jeningen felt stranded in the wrong place to realize his life's dream. The exotic shores of Asia and the tropical forests of Latin America offered the young Jesuit a much more suitable scene for his longings. There one would easily find martyrdom while trying to redeem the souls of the unbelievers.

"Oh happy and blessed Portuguese and Spaniards, who almost alone received the great grace of this most glorious charity and the greatest happiness,

64 These depictions could be found in Burschel, *Sterben und Unsterblichkeit*, 261.

65 See ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 754, 277: Philipp Jeningen's letter sent from Ellwangen, dated February 2, 1686: "Ingens martyrium non posse esse martyrem!"

66 The latest publication on the life and works of Philip Jeningen, who was active in the region of Ellwangen and known as the people's missionary: Julius Oswald (ed.), *"Auch auf Erd ist Gott mein Himmel:" Pater Philipp Jeningen—Missionar und Mystiker*, (Ostfildern: Schwabenverlag, 2004).

which is so greatly desired by us Germans. You enjoy the enrichment of India and Japan through your efforts; you show yourselves to be the happy heirs of martyrs. Oh, may it be soon that Portuguese and Spaniards recognize and fulfill my wish, that we Germans have tried to be with you in German faith, in German and fraternal soul … As long as I live, I will hope."[67] Thus wrote the novice Nicolaus Martius on 24 April, 1634 from Ingolstadt to his superior. His fellow Jesuit Nicolaus Obracht, also from Ingolstadt, wrote some eighty years later: "When I was still concerned with worldly things I was moved by looking at an image of St. Xavier and decided to die where he had died. I was so overwhelmed with heavenly comfort that I was almost unable to hold back my tears."[68] Both citations from young Jesuits demonstrate the European impact of the propagation of the heroic death overseas, especially among the young, and how it was seized as a norm for shaping one's clerical life.[69]

These demonstrative descriptions were of some importance for the Society's recruitment.[70] Friedrich Spee was not the only young Jesuit who freely admitted that he entered the company because of the possibility to go overseas.[71] Likewise, the Luzern Jesit Beat Amrhyn described in 1662 the heroic Jesuits overseas: "Most honorable Fahter in Christ! Again I come to Your Paternity as the last of your sons and opened up to you my heart's desire, which the merciful God had always filled, despite my unworthiness, namely, to send me to a difficult mission somewhere. I am ashamed of my weaknesses and the

67 See ARSI, Germ. 18 II, 438r, Nicolaus Martius's letter from Ingnostadt, dated on April 24, 1634: "O Beatos nimiumque felices Lusitanos, felices Hispanos quibus fere solis hac ingens gratia, haec praeclarum beneficium, summa haec felicitas conceditur, ut quod nos Germani omnibus modibus instantissime desideramus, nos fruamini, vos Indiam vos Iaponiam impleatis, vos Martyriorum haeredes fortunatissimi existatis, utinam vel tantillo tempore Lusitanus aut Hispanus agnoserer, quosq. desiderio meo esset satisfactum, germani deinde nos inter, esse conabimur, fide germana, germano ac fraterno animo … dum spiro spero."

68 See ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 754, 510, Nicolaus Obracht's letter from Ingolstadt with the date of August 30, 1720.

69 An general survey on the representation of the non-European world in the European imagery, see Marion Romberg, Wolfgang Schmale, Josef Köstlbauer, and Martin Gasteiner, "Continent Allegories in the South of the Holy Roman Empire: A Pictorial Discourse", in Wolfgang Schmale (ed.), *Zeit in der Aufklärung—13. Internationaler Kongress zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts* (= Das Achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich, Band 27, Bochum, 2012), 295–298.

70 More explicit discussion see Friedrich, *Beispielgeschichte*n.

71 Friedrich Spee's letter sent from Worms, dated November 17, 1617, in ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 42, 22: "… ac per illam mihi animus, vix alio canali, in hanc Sanctam Societatem effllueret."

deficiencies of my spirit, when I compare them to the heroic virtues of those fathers and brothers, who have to endure so many difficulties in various parts of the God for the honor of God and the redemption of souls."[72]

Many candidates even wrote their petitions with their own blood in order to demonstrate their determination and suitability to be sent to overseas missions, where the martyr's crown seemed easily within grasp.[73] From the perspective of superiors, this idealized image of the missionary martyr was a two-edged sword. The decision makers had no wish for martyrdoms for these recruits when they were concerned to strengthen the personal of overseas provinces. They were concerned pragmatically with sending suitable men, in body and spirit, who could teach catechism to the indigenous of the newly established and growing missions overseas. One must be careful and responsible with human resources. Candidates who sought their own martyrdoms, however pious their intentions, could not be considered in view of this need for personnel.

14.10 Conclusion

Who were the missionaries? Better: who did they want to be? The expansion of missions, especially in South and Central America, called for an ever increase in personnel. Internally, the religious orders drew up an ideal profile: physical fitness, intellectual capacity, and firm piety the overseas missionary must possess. Simultaneously, the life of a missionary succeeded to attain a higher Jesuit ideal, that of longing for martyrdom. While this enhanced the external profile of the Company, it also complicated the selection of future missionaries, a process that was at first restricted by the concerns of the patronage states. For Central European Jesuits it implied strong restriction on the realization of their dream vocation, at least for a while.

72 Beat Amrhyn's letter from Ingnostadt, dated July 6, 1662, in ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 754, 7: "Erubesco quidem ipse tenuitatem meam et spiritus inopiam, quando illam confero cum heroicis virtutibus illorum Patrum ac Fratrum, qui in variis orbis partibus pro Dei Gloria et animarum salute tam fortia agunt, et tam dura patiuntur."

73 Nebgen, *Missionarsberufungen*, 147f.

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